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Edited by

W. H. D.

ROUSE

M.A.

Sulla
from a reputed bust at the Museo Chiaramonti.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES ENGLISHED BY SIR THOMAS NORTH IN TEN VOLUMES VOL. FIVE

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THE LIVES OF THE NOBLE GREEKS AND ROMANS

The most of them compared together by that grave learned Philosopher and Historiographer Plutarch of Chæronea

THE LIFE OF LYSANDER

In the treasury of the Acanthians, which is in the temple of Apollo at Delphes, there is this inscription: Brasidas, and the Acanthians, with the spoil of the Athenians. That inscription maketh many men think, that the image of stone that standeth within the chamber by the door thereof, is the image of Brasidas: howbeit in truth it is the lively image of Lysander himself, made with a great bush of hair, and a thick long beard after the old ancient fashion. And where some say that the Argives, after they were overcome and had lost a great battell, did all of them shave themselves in token and sign of common sorrow: and that the Lacedæmonians on the other side to shew the joy of their victory, did let all their hairs grow, that is not true. No more than this is true which other do report of the Bacchiadæ: who being fled from Corinth unto Lacedæmon, the Lacedæmonians found them so illfavouredly disguised and deformed,

Lysander's image

Lysander's kindred

because their heads were all shaven, that thereupon they had a desire to let their hair and beards grow. For that was one of the ordinances of Lycurgus, who said that the long bush of hair, maketh them that are naturally fair, the pleasanter to look upon: and those that are ill favoured, more ugly and fearful to see to. And furthermore, it is said that Aristoclitus, the father of Lysander, was not of the royal blood of the kings of Sparta, though he came of the race of the Heraclids: and that his son Lysander was very meanly and poorly brought up, being as obedient to the laws and statutes of his country, as any other man was, shewing himself always very strong and constant against all vanity and pleasure, saving only in matters of honour and courtesy, which they offer unto those that deserve well. For they think it no shame nor dishonesty in Sparta, that the young men do suffer themselves to be overcome with that delight and pleasure: but do bring up their children, that from their youth they would have them to have some taste and feeling of honour, delighting to be praised, and sorry to be discommended. For they make no account of him that is not moved with the one nor the other, but take him to be of a base cowardly nature, that hath no manner of mind to do good. And therefore it is to be thought, that the ambition and stoutness that was bred in Lysander, proceeded of the Laconical discipline and education he had, and not so much of his own nature. But indeed of his own nature he was a right courtier, and could tell how to entertain and flatter great states and nobility, far better than the common manner of the natural Spartans: and moreover for his private benefit, he

could easily bear with the stoutness of greater men of authority than himself, which some judge to be a great point of wisdom, to know how to deal in matters of state. Aristotle in a place where he saith, that the greatest wits commonly are subject unto melancholy, (as Socrates, Plato, and Hercules were) writeth, that Lysander in his later age fell into the melancholy disease, but not in his youth. He had also this singular gift above all other, that in his poverty he always kept that honest modesty with him, as he would never be overcome nor corrupted with gold nor silver: and yet he filled his country with riches and covetousness, which lost him the reputation he had won, because himself made none account of riches nor getting. For bringing store of gold and silver into his country after he had overcome the Athenians, he reserved not unto himself one drachma only. And furthermore, when Dionysius the tyrant of Syracusa had on a time sent goodly rich gowns out of Sicilia to his daughters: he refused them, saying, that he was afraid such gowns would make them fouler. Nevertheless, shortly after being sent ambassador out of his country unto the same tyrant, Dionysius sending him two gowns, praying him to choose which of the two he would carry to his daughter: he answered, that she herself could best choose which was the fitter, and so carried both with him. But now to come to his doings in warlike causes: the wars of Peloponnesus fell out marvellous long. For after the overthrow of the army which the Athenians had sent into Sicilia, when every man thought they had utterly lost all their force by sea, and that by all conjecture they should soon

Lysander a despiser of riches

ander after loose all by land also: Alcibiades returning
rgeth from his exile to deal again in matters of the state,
city of made an exceeding great change and alteration.
hesus For he set the Athenians afloat again, and made them as strong by sea as the Lacedæmonians: who thereupon began to quake for fear, and to look eftsoons for a fresh war, perceiving that they stood in need of a greater power, and of a better captain than ever they had before. Whereupon they made Lysander their admiral, who arriving in the city of Ephesus, found them very well affected towards him, and marvellous willing and ready to take the Lacedæmonians' part: howbeit otherwise in very poor state, and ready almost to take up all the barbarous manners and fashions of the Persians, because they did continually frequent them, being environed round about with the country of Lydia, where the king of Persia's captains were ever resident. Wherefore, having planted his camp there, he brought thither merchants' ships out of all parts, and set up an arsenal or storehouse to build galleys in: so that in short space, by oft recourse of merchants that began to trade thither, he quickened their havens, and set up their staple again for the traffic of merchandise, and filled every private artificer's house with an honest trade to make them rich by, so that ever after it grew in continual hope to come unto that flourishing state and greatness, in the which we see it at this present. Furthermore, Lysander being advertised that Cyrus, one of the great king of Persia's sons, was come unto the city of Sardis, he went thither to speak with him, and to complain of Tisaphernes: who having commandment given him from the

king to aid the Lacedæmonians, and to help to expulse the Athenians, and to drive them from the sea, seemed to deal but coldly and faintly against them, for the favour he bare to Alcibiades. For, in furnishing the Lacedæmonians very scantly with money, he was the cause that all their army by sea went to wrack. Cyrus for his own part was very glad that he heard complaints of Tisaphernes, and that they spake against him: because he was an ill man, and the rather for that he had himself a little odd grudge to him. Wherefore he loved Lysander marvellous well, as well for the complaints he made of Tisaphernes, as also for the pleasure he took in his company, because he was a man that could wonderfully please and delight noble men: by which means having won the favour of this young prince, he did persuade, and also encourage him to follow this war. And when Lysander was upon his departure to take his leave of him, Cyrus feasted him, and afterwards prayed him not to refuse the offer of his liberality, and that was: that he would freely ask him what he would, assuring him he should not be denied anything. Whereunto Lysander answered him: Sithence I see, Cyrus, you are so willing to pleasure us, I beseech you and do also counsel you then to increase the ordinary pay of our mariners, one half penny a day: to the end that where now they have but three half pence, they may thenceforth receive two pence a day. Cyrus was glad to hear Lysander's bounty, and the increase that he would make, and caused ten thousand daricks to be delivered him: by mean whereof he added to the ordinary pay of the mariners, the increase of a half penny a day. This liberality, within

Lysande took bounty for pay o his soldiers

Lysander's victory of the Athenians by sea

few days after, emptied all their enemies' galleys of their men. For, the most part of their mariners and galley men went where they might have the best pay: and such as remained behind, became very dull, lazy, and seditious, daily troubling their captains and governors. Now, though Lysander had drawn his enemies' men from them by this policy, and had done this great hurt, yet he durst not fight it out by sea, fearing the worthiness of Alcibiades: who was a valiant man, and had greater store of ships than he had, and besides that, was never overcome by land nor by sea, in any battell where he was general. So it chanced, that Alcibiades went out of the isle of Samos, unto the city of Phocæa, which standeth upon firm land directly over against Samos, and leaving the whole charge of his fleet in his absence, with Antiochus his pilot: he being more hardy than wise, in scorn and derision of Lysander, went with two galleys only into the haven of Ephesus, and went by the arsenal (where all their ships lay in dock) with great noise and laughing. This put Lysander in such a heat and chafe, that first of all he put a few galleys to the sea, and had him in chase with them. But afterwards, perceiving that the other captains of the Athenians came out one after another to the rescue, he armed other galleys also: so that supplying still with a few on either side, at length they came to a main battell, which Lysander wan, and having taken fifteen of their galleys, he set up a token of triumph and victory. When the people at Athens heard the news of this overthrow, they were so angry with Alcibiades, that they discharged him presently of his charge: and the soldiers also that

lay in camp in the isle of Samos, began to mislike him, and to speak ill of him. Whereupon he presently left his camp, and went into the country of Cherronesus in Thracia. This battell was more spoken of than there was cause, by reason of Alcibiades' reputation. Furthermore, Lysander causing the stoutest and boldest men of every city, above the common sort, to come to Ephesus unto him: laid there secret foundations of great change and alteration, which he stablished afterwards in the governments of cities. For he persuaded his private friends to make tribes amongst themselves, to win them friends, and to practise to get the rule of their cities into their hands: promising them, that so soon as the Athenians were overthrown, they themselves also should be delivered from subjection of their people, and every one of them should bear chief rule in their country. And this he performed to them all, and made every one of them prove his words true. For he preferred all them that had been his old friends, unto the best offices and charges: not sparing to do against all right and reason, so that they were advanced by it. And for this cause, every man came to take his part, and they all sought and desired to gratify and please him: hoping, that what great matter soever fell out, they might assure themselves that they should obtain it of him, when he came to have the government in his own hands. And therefore they nothing rejoiced at Callicratidas' coming, who came to succeed him in the office of the admiral: neither afterwards also, when they saw by experience that he was as honest and just a man as could be. Neither did they like his

Callicratidas Lysander's successo

spite Lysander to Callicratidas

manner of governing which was plain, and without any art or cunning. But they commended the perfection of his vertue, as they would have done the image of some demigod made after the old fashion, which had been of singular beauty. But in the meantime, they wished for Lysander, as well for the tender love and goodwill he bare to his friends and them, as also for the profit and commodity they got by him. So when Lysander took the seas to return home again, all they that were in the camp, were as sorry as could be possible, insomuch as the tears stood in their eyes: and he on the other side, studied to make them worse affected unto Callicratidas. For amongst many other things, he sent the rest of the money back again to Sardis, which Cyrus had given him to pay the mariners: saying, that Callicratidas should go himself to ask it, if he would have it, and find the means to entertain his men. And lastly, when he was ready to embark, he protested before all them that were present, that he did deliver, leave, and assign over the army into his hands, commanding all the sea. But Callicratidas, to overcome his false ambition, and foul boasting lie, answered him again, and said: If that be true thou sayest, come then and deliver me the galleys in the city of Miletus, as thou goest by, before the isle of Samos: For sith thou commandest all the sea, we shall not need to fear our enemies that are in Samos. Lysander thereto replied, that the army was no more at his commandment, and that he had the charge over them: and so departed thence, taking his course directly unto Peloponnesus, and left Callicratidas in great perplexity. For he

had brought no money out of his country with him, neither would he compel the cities to furnish him with any, seeing that they were at that time too much troubled already. Then had he no other way but to go to the lieutenants of the king of Persia, to ask them money as Lysander had done. But he was the unmeetest man for it that could be possible: for he was of a noble and liberal nature, and thought it less dishonour and reproach unto the Grecians, to be overcome by other Grecians, than to go flatter the barbarous people, and seek to them that had gold and silver enough, but otherwise, no goodness nor honesty. In the end notwithstanding, making vertue of necessity, he took his journey towards Lydia, and went directly to Cyrus' court: where at his first coming he willed them to let him understand, that Callicratidas the admiral of the Lacedæmonians would speak with him. One of the soldiers that warded at the gate, told him: My friend, sir stranger, Cyrus is not at leisure now, for he is set at dinner. Callicratidas answered plainly again: No force, I will tarry here till he have dined. The barbarous Persians hearing this, took him for some plain lout, and so he went his way the first time with a mock at their hands. But the second time when they would not let him come in at the gate, he fell in a rage, and returned back (as he came) to the city of Ephesus, cursing and banning them that at the first had so much imbased themselves, as to go sue to the barbarous people, teaching them to be proud and stately for their goods and riches: swearing before them all that were present, that so soon as he came to Sparta again, he would do all that he could possible to

Callicratidas' patience

Lysander crafty and deceitful

pacify the Grecians, and set them at peace one with another, to the end they might be fearful to the barbarous people, and also that they should meddle with them no more, nor need their aid to destroy one another. But Callicratidas having the noble heart of a Spartan, and being to be compared in justice, valiancy, and greatness of courage, with the most excellent Grecians in his time, died shortly after in a battell by sea, which he lost upon the isles Arginuses. Wherefore, the confederates of the Lacedæmonians seeing that their state was in declining, they altogether sent an ambassade unto Sparta, by whom they made request to the council, that they would send Lysander again for their admiral: promising that they would do all things with better courage and goodwill under his conduction, than they would under any other captain they could send them. So much did Cyrus also write unto them. But because there was an express law forbidding that one man should be twice admiral, and besides, they being willing to grant the request of their confederates, made one Aracus their admiral, but in effect gave Lysander the whole authority of all things. Who was marvellous welcome unto them, and specially unto the heads and rulers of cities, which long before had wished for his coming: because that by his means they hoped to make their authority greater, and altogether to take away the authority from the people. But they that loved plain dealing and open magnanimity in the manners of a governor and general, when they came to compare Lysander with Callicratidas, they found that Lysander had a fine subtile head, and did more in wars with his

policy and subtilty, than by any other means. And moreover, that he esteemed justice, when it fell out profitable: and took profit for justice and honesty, not thinking that plain dealing was of better force than craft, but measuring the value of the one and the other, by the profit that came out of them, and mocking of them that said that the race of Hercules should not make wars with craft and subtilty. For said he, when the lion's skin will not serve, we must help it with the case of a fox. And hereunto agreeth that, which they write he did in the city of Miletus. For his friends and familiars to whom he had promised aid for destruction of the people's authority, and to drive their enemies out of the city: they having changed their minds, and being reconciled unto their adversaries, he openly made great shew of gladness, and seemed as though he would help to agree them together: but secretly being alone, he took them up sharply, and told them that they were cowards to do it, and did procure them to the contrary, to set upon the people. And then when he understood that there was commotion among them in the city, he ran thither suddenly as it were to appease it. But when he was also come into the city, the first he met with of them that would alter the state of government, and take the authority from the people, he fell out withal, and gave them rough words, commanding with extremity that they should follow him, as though he would have done some great punishment. And again, meeting with them on the contrary part, he willed them also that they should not be afraid, nor doubt that any man should do them hurt where he was. This was a

His wicked dissembling and double dealing

Lysander regarded no perjury

wicked and malicious practice of him, to stay the chiefest of them that were most affected to the popular faction, to the end that afterwards he might put them all to death, as he did. For they that trusting to his words remained quiet in the city were all put to death. Moreover, Androclidas touching this matter, hath left in writing that which Lysander was wont to say: by the which it appeareth, that he made very little reckoning to be perjured. For he said, that children should be deceived with the play of kayles, and men with oaths of men, following therein Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, but without reason: for he was a lawful captain, and the other a violent usurper of tyrannical power. Furthermore, it was not done like a true Laconian, to behave himself towards the gods none otherwise, than towards men, but rather worse, and more injuriously. For he that deceiveth his enemy, and breaketh his oath to him: sheweth plainly that he feareth him, but that he careth not for God. Cyrus therefore having sent for Lysander to come to Sardis to him, gave him money largely, and promised him more: and because he would more honourably shew the goodwill he had to gratify him, told him, that if the king his father would give him nothing, yet he would give him of his own. And futhermore, when all other means failed to help him with money, that rather than he should lack, he would melt his own chair to make money of (which he sat in when he gave audience in matters of justice) being altogether of gold and silver. And to be short, when he was going into Media to the king his father, he gave Lysander power to receive the

taxes and ordinary tributes of the cities under his government, and made him lieutenant of all his country. And lastly, bidding him farewell, prayed him that he would not give battell by sea unto the Athenians, until he returned from the court: and that before his coming again he would have authority to levy a great number of ships, as well out of Phœnicia, as out of Cilicia. Wherefore whilst Cyrus was in his journey, Lysander not being able to fight with his enemies with like number of ships, nor also to lie still and do nothing with so good a number of galleys, went and scoured the seas, where he took certain lands, and robbed also Ægina and Salamis. From thence he went and landed on the firm land in the country of Attica, and did his duty there unto Agis king of Lacedæmonia, who came purposely from the fort of Decelea to the seaside to see him, because their army by land also should see what power they had by sea, and how it ruled more by sea than they would. Nevertheless, being advertised that the fleet of the Athenians followed hard after him, he took another course to fly back again into Asia by the isles: and returning again, found all the country of Hellespont without men of war. So he laid siege before the city of Lampsacus, and did assault it with his galleys by sea: and Thorax being come thither also at the self same time in great haste with his army by land, gave the assault on his side. Thus was the city taken by force, which Lysander left to the spoil of the soldiers. Now in the meantime the fleet of the Athenians (which was a hundred and four score sail) came to an anker before the city of Elæus, in the country of Cherronesus: and news being brought

Lysander's acts by sea

Lysander's craft in marine fight

them that the city of Lampsacus was taken, they came with all speed possible unto the city of Sestos, where getting fresh cates and victuals, they coasted all alongst the coast unto a certain place called the Goat's River, directly over against the fleet of their enemies, which lay yet at anker before the city of Lampsacus. Now there was a captain of the Athenians amongst other called Philocles, he that persuaded the Athenians to cut off the prisoners' thumbs of their right hands that were taken in the wars, to the end they should no more handle the pike, but only serve to pull the ower. Both the one and the other rested that day, hoping to have battell without fail the next morning. But Lysander having another meaning with him, commanded the maisters and mariners notwithstanding, that they should have their galleys ready to give battell the next morning by break of day, because every man should get aboard betimes, and should keep themselves in order of battell, making no noise at all, attending what he would command them: and further, made the army by land also to be ranged in battell ray, by the seaside. The next morning at sun rising, the Athenians began to row with all their galleys set in order of battell in a front. But Lysander, though he had his ships in order to fight, the prores lying towards the enemies before day, rowed not for all that against them, but sending out pinnaces unto the first galleys, commanded them straightly that they should not stir at all, but keep themselves in order, making no noise, nor rowing against the enemy. Though the Athenians also were retired in the night, he would give the soldiers leave to come to land out of the galleys,

before he had sent first two or three galleys to descry the fleet of his enemies: who brought him word that they had seen the Athenians take land. The next morning they did the like, the third day, and the fourth also all in one sort: so that the Athenians began to be bold of themselves, and to despise their enemies, imagining they lay thus close for fear of them, and durst not come forward. In the meantime, Alcibiades (who lay at that time in the country of Cherronesus, in certain places which he had conquered) came riding to the camp of the Athenians, to tell the captains and generals of the army, the great faults they committed. First, for that they had cast anker, and kept their ships in an open place, where there was no manner of succour, nor harbour to retire unto upon any storm: and worst of all, because that they were to fetch their victuals far off, at the city of Sestos, unto which haven they should rather draw themselves, considering that they had but a little way to go, and also that they should have the city to back them, which would furnish them with all things necessary: and beside that, they should be further off from their enemies, which were governed by one general only that did command them all, and were so well trained, that at a whistle they were ready straight to execute his commandment. Alcibiades' persuasions to these captains of the Athenians were not only misliked, but furthermore there was one called Tydeus, that answered him very lewdly: that he had nothing to do to command the army, but other that had the charge of them. Alcibiades mistrusting thereby some treason, quietly went his way. The fifth day, the Athenians having made the

Alcibiades' good advice

A copper target lift up, the sign of the battell

same countenance to present battell unto their enemies, and retiring the same night as of custom very negligently, and in ill order, as men that made no reckoning of their enemies: Lysander sent again certain galliots to descry them, commanding the captains of the same, that when they perceived the Athenians had left their galleys and taken land, they should then return back with all possible speed they could, and being midway over the straits, that they should lift up a copper target into the air, upon the top of a pike in the foredeck, for a sign to make all the whole fleet to row in battell. Now Lysander himself in the meantime went in person from galley to galley, persuading and exhorting every captain that they should put their galliots, mariners, and soldiers in good readiness, to the end that when the sign should be lifted up, they should row with all their might in battell against the enemies. Wherefore, so soon as the copper target was set up in the air, and that Lysander had made his trumpet sound out of the admiral, for a token to hale out into the sea; the galleys immediately began to row for life in envy one of another, and the footmen that were upon the land, ran with speed also to the top of a high cliff near unto the sea, to see what would be the end of his fight, because the distance from one side to the other in that place was not fully two miles, which they had soon cut over, and in a little space, through the great diligence and force of rowing with their owers. So Conon the chief captain of the Athenians perceiving from the shore this great fleet coming with a full force to assault them: he then cried out to the soldiers that they should run to their ships, and

being in a rage to see things in this danger, called some by their names, others he entreated, and the rest he compelled to take their galleys. But all his diligence was to no purpose, because the soldiers were wholly scattered here and there. For so soon as they were set a-land out of their galleys at their return, some went to buy provision, other went a-walking in the fields, some were set at supper in their cabins, and other were laid down to sleep, nothing mistrusting that which happened to them, through their captain's ignorance and lack of experience. But when the enemies were ready to join and fall upon them with great cries and noise of oars, Conon having eight galleys, stale secretly out of the fleet, and flying unto Euagoras, saved himself in the Isle of Cyprus. In the meantime, the Peloponnesians falling upon the other galleys, took some of them empty, and brake the others as the soldiers began to come aboard upon them. And as for the men, some were slain by their ships as they ran unto them like naked men without weapon, and out of order, thinking to have saved themselves: other were killed in flying, because the enemies landed and had them in chase. And there were taken alive of them, three thousand prisoners with the captains. Lysander moreover took all the whole fleet of their ships, the holy galley excepted called Paralos, and the eight that fled with Conon: and after he had destroyed all the camp of the Athenians, he fastened the galleys that were taken, unto the keel of his galleys, and returned with songs of triumph, with the sound of flutes and hoboys, towards the city of Lampsacus, having won a great victory with little labour, and had cut

Lysander's victory o the Athe nians

Anaxagoras' opinion of the stars

off in a small time, the long continuing and most diverse war that ever was, and had brought forth so many sundry strange events of fortune, as are uncredible. For there had been infinite battels fought both by sea and land, and had altered many sundry times, and there was slain at that time more captains, than in all the other wars of Greece together: all which were at the length brought to end and determined, by the good wisdom and conduction of one only man. And therefore some thought, that this great overthrow was given by the gods, and said: That at the departure of Lysander's fleet out of the haven of Lampsacus, to go set upon the fleet of the enemies, they perceived over Lysander's galley the two fires, which they call the stars of Castor and Pollux: the one on the one side of the galley, and the other on the other side. They say also, that the fall of the stone was a token, that did signify this great overthrow. For about that time, (as many hold opinion) there fell out of the air a marvellous great stone, in the place they call the Goat's River, which stone is seen yet unto this day, holden in great reverence by the inhabitants of the city of Cherronesus. It is said also, that Anaxagoras did prognosticate, that one of the bodies tied unto the vault of the heaven, should be pluckt away, and should fall to the ground by a sliding and shaking that should happen. For he said, that the stars were not in their proper place where they were first created, considering that they were heavy bodies, and of the nature of stone: howbeit that they did shine by reflection of the fire elementary, and had been drawn up thither by force, where they were kept by the great violence of the circular

motion of the element, even as at the beginning of the world they had been stayed and let from falling down beneath, at that time when the separation was made of the cold and heavy bodies, from the other substance of the universal world. There is another opinion of certain philosophers, where there is more likelihood than in that. For they say, that those which we call falling stars, be no fluxions nor derivations of the fire elementary, which are put out in the air, in a manner so soon as they be lighted: nor also an inflammation or combustion of any part of the air, which by her too overmuch quantity doth spread upwards: but they are celestial bodies, which by some slackness of strength, or falling from the ordinary course of heaven, are thrown and cast down here beneath, not always in any part of the earth inhabited, but more ofter abroad in the great ocean sea, which is the cause that we do not see them. Notwithstanding, Anaxagoras' words are confirmed by Daïmachus, who writeth in his book of religion, that the space of threescore and fifteen years together, before that this stone did fall, they saw a great lump of fire continually in the air like a cloud inflamed, the which tarried not in any one place, but went and came with divers broken removings, by the driving whereof there came out lightnings of fire that fell in many places, and gave light in falling, as the stars do that fall. In the end, when this great body of fire fell in that part of the earth, the inhabitants of the country, after that they were a little boldened from their fear and wonder, came to the place to see what it was: and they found no manner of shew or appearance of fire: but only a very great stone lying upon

What falling stars be

Philocles' constancy

the ground, but nothing in comparison of the least part of that which the compass of this body of fire did shew, if we may so name it. Sure herein, Daïmachus' words had need of favourable hearers. But again if they be true, then he utterly confuteth their arguments, that maintain that it was a piece of a rock, which the force of a boisterous wind did tear from the top of a mountain, and carried in the air, so long as this whirlwind continued: but so soon as that was down, and calm again, the stone fell immediately. Neither do we say that this lightning body, which appeared so many days in the element, was very fire indeed, which coming to dissolve and to be put out, did beget this violent storm and boisterous wind in the element, that had the force to tear the stone in sunder, and to cast it down. Nevertheless, this matter requireth better discourse in some other book than this. But now to our story. When the three thousand Athenians that were taken prisoners at that overthrow, were condemned by the council to be put to death: Lysander calling Philocles, one of the captains of the Athenians, asked him what pain he would judge him worthy of, that gave the citizens so cruel and wicked counsel. Philocles being nothing abashed to see himself in that misery, answered him, Accuse not them that have no judge to hear their cause: but since the gods have given thee grace to be conqueror, do with us, as we would have done with thee, if we had overcome thee. When he had said so, he went to wash himself, and then put on a fair cloak upon him, as if he should have gone to some feast: and went lustily the foremost man to execution, leading his countrymen the way, as

Theophrastus writeth. After this done, Lysander with all his fleet went by all the cities of the sea-coast, where he commanded so many Athenians as he found, that they should get them to Athens, letting them understand that he would not pardon a man of them, but put them all to death as many as he found out of their city. And this he did of policy to bring them all within the precinct of the wall of Athens, because he might so much the sooner famish them for lack of victuals: for otherwise they would have troubled him sore, if they had had wherewithal to have maintained a long siege. But in all the cities as he passed by, if they were governed by the authority of the people, or if that there were any other kind of government, he left in every one of them a Lacedæmonian captain or governor, with a council of ten officers, of them that had bin before in league and amity with him: the which he did as well in the cities that had ever been confederates and friends unto the Lacedæmonians, as in them that not long before had bin their enemies. So he went sailing all alongst the coasts, fair and softly making no haste, stablishing in manner a general principality over all Greece. For he did not make them officers that were the richest, the noblest, or honestest men, but such as were his friends, out of those tribes which he had placed in every city: and to them he gave authority to punish, and reward such as they liked of, and would be present himself in person to help them to put those to death, whom they would execute, or otherwise expulse or banish their country. But this gave the Grecians small hope of good or gracious government under the rule of the Lacedæmonians.

Lysander's governors

Lysander's governors

Wherefore, me thinks that Theopompus the comical poet doted, when he compared the Lacedæmonians, unto taverners, saying: That they had given the Grecians a taste of the sweet drink of liberty, and that afterwards they had mingled it with vinegar. For, the taste they gave the Grecians of their government from the beginning, was very sharp unto them: because Lysander took the rule and authority of government out of the people's hands, and gave it unto a few of the boldest and most seditious men in every city. Thus having spent a great time in this voyage, to make these alterations: he sent news before to Lacedæmon, that he was coming with two hundred sail. He spake also with the kings Agis and Pausanias, in the country of Attica, persuading himself that he should win the city of Athens at the first assault. But when he saw his expectation failed, and that the Athenians did valiantly resist him: he returned once again with his fleet into Asia, where he made an end of changing and altering the manner of government through every city in equal manner, stablishing a council of ten officers only in every one of them, and putting everywhere many citizens to death, and banishing many also. Among others, he drave all the Samians out of their country, and restored again all them that had been banished before: and the city of Sestos also, being yet in the Athenians' hands, he took it from them. And furthermore, he would not suffer the natural Sestians to dwell there, but drave them away, and gave their city, their houses, and lands, unto ship maisters, officers of galleys, and galley slaves, that had been in the wars with him. But therein the Lacedæmonians were against him, and this was the

first thing that they did forbid him: for they restored the Sestians, against his will, unto their lands and goods again. But as the Grecians were very much offended, to see the parts Lysander played: so were they all very glad again, to see these others which he afterwards did. For he restored the Æginetes again to their lands and houses, who had been put from them a long time. He restored also the Melians, and the Scionæans to their lands again, which the Athenians had gotten from them, and drave out the Athenians. Furthermore, Lysander being advertised, that the citizens and inhabitants of Athens were pinched sore for lack of victuals, he returned again, and came into the haven of Piræus: by means whereof he kept the city so strait, that he made them yield upon such conditions as he himself would. Howbeit there are certain Lacedæmonians that say, Lysander wrote unto the Ephors: The city of Athens is taken. And that the Ephori wrote again unto him: It is well that it is taken. But this is but a tale devised to make the matter seem better: for indeed the capitulations which the Ephori sent unto him, were these. The Lords of the council of Lacedæmon have thus decreed: That ye do rase the fortification of the haven of Piræus. That ye do overthrow also the long wall that joineth the haven to the city. That ye yield up and redeliver all the cities which ye do hold, and content your selves with your lives and country only. This doing, ye shall have peace, so that ye perform our demands. That ye shall receive those which are banished and for the number of ships, ye shall dispose of them as we shall will you. The Athenians agreed unto the articles contained in that bill, following the counsel

The Athenians yield up Athens unto Lysander

of Theramenes, the son of Hagnon. Who when a young orator called Cleomenes, did openly ask him in anger, If he were so bold to dare to do, or say, anything contrary unto that, which Themistocles had done before time, to assent unto the Lacedæmonians, that the wall which he built in despite of them, should by their commandment now be rased: he answered him openly again, Young man, my friend, I do nothing contrary to Themistocles' doings. For like as he heretofore did build the wall, for the safety and benefit of all the citizens and people that were in Athens at that time: even so do we that are here now, for the self same cause pluck it down and raze it. And if it be true that walls do make cities happy, then it must needs follow that the city of Sparta which never had any walls, should be the unfortunatest of all other. So Lysander having received all the Athenians' ships but twelve, and the walls of the city also to use them at his pleasure: on the sixteenth day of March (on which day in old time the Athenians had won the battell by sea, within the strait of Salamis, against the king of Persia) he counselled them straight to change the form of their government. The people could not brook that motion, and were marvellously offended withal. Whereupon Lysander sent to declare unto them, that they had broken the articles of the peace made between them, for that their walls were yet standing, the ten days being expired in which they had promised to overthrow them: and therefore that he would once again refer it to the determination of the council, how they should be used, that had broken the articles and covenants of the first peace. Other say, that immediately he referred it

A notable saying

unto the deliberation of the council of their confederates, that is to say: whether they should altogether destroy the city, and make the inhabitants thereof, slaves and bondmen, or no. In this council, it is reported that there was a Theban called Erianthus, whose opinion was, that they should utterly raze the city, and make the country a desert: so that it should never after serve for other thing, but for pasturage of beasts. But during this diet and council, there was a banquet made, whereunto all the captains and chief officers of the army being bidden, there was a Phocian, a singer of songs, that sang the entry of the chorus to the tragedy of Electra, made by the poet Euripides, which began in this sort:

Erianthus' cruel advice against the Athenians

Electra noble Dame, and daughter to a king:
Even Agamemnon, king of Greece, whose fame so wide did ring.
I come now to your courts, which lie both wide and waste,
By spoil of wars depopulate, destroyéd, and disgraced.

These words moved all the hearers with compassion, so that the most part of them thought it were too great a sin to destroy so noble a city, which brought forth so many famous wise men, and great persons. Wherefore Lysander, when the Athenians had submitted themselves altogether to his will, caused all the women-players of pipes or shalms to come out of the city, and gathered all those together which he had in his own camp also, and with the sound of their instruments he made the walls and fortifications of the city of Athens to be pulled down to the very ground, and set all their galleys on fire, and burnt them in the presence of the confederates of the Lacedæmonians,

Lysander overthrew the walls of the Athenians

who danced and played in the mean season with garlands of flowers on their heads, in token that that day was a beginning of their full and perfect liberty. Immediately after he changed also the state of the government, establishing a council of thirty magistrates in the city, and other ten also in the haven of Piræus, having all equal and like authority: and therewithal made Callibius a gentleman of Sparta captain of the castle there, and left a good garrison of the Lacedæmonians with him. This Callibius one day lift up his staff he had in his hand to strike Autolycus withal, a strong made man to wrestle: whereupon Xenophon the philosopher made his book in old time, called Convivium. But Autolycus that was a cunning wrestler, having all the sleights of wrestling, suddenly tripped Callibius with his leg, and lifting him up at the arms end, cast him to the ground. Howbeit Lysander was not angry with Autolycus for it, but reproved Callibius, telling him that he should have remembered (if he had been wise) that he had the government over free men, and not of bond men. Notwithstanding, shortly after the thirty governors of the city, to satisfy Callibius, put this Autolycus to death. When Lysander had done all these things, he took sea again, and went into the country of Thrace, and sent by Gylippus before unto Sparta (who had been captain and general of the Syracusans in Sicilia) all the gold and silver that was left in his hands, with all the presents besides which had been privately given him, and with the crowns also that had been presented him: which were marvellous in number, as it is to be thought, for that many came to pre-

sent him, considering the great power he had, and that in manner he was chief and sole prince of all Greece. This Gylippus did rip the seams of every bag in the bottom where the money was, and took a good sum out of every of them: and afterwards sowed them up again, not thinking that there had been a border upon every bag, upon the which was declared, the number and kinds of gold and silver that were therein. Now when he was come to Sparta, he hid the money he had stolen under the house eavings, and went and delivered the bags he had brought into the hands of the Ephori, shewing them Lysander's seal, which he had set to every one of them. The Ephori having opened the bags, and told the money, found that the sum agreed not with the borders of the contents: and yet could not tell where the fault was. But a servant of Gylippus told them in dark words, saying: That under the tiles of his maister's house there lay a great number of owls. Now the greatest part of the coin of gold and silver which was current through Greece, was stamped with the mark of an owl, by reason of the Athenians. Thus Gylippus after so many noble exploits done in wars, committing so shameful and vile a deed, was banished out of his country of Lacedæmonia. But the wisest men of Sparta, and of deepest judgement, fearing the power of gold and silver, and seeing by proof of Gylippus' doings, that it had such power to make one of their chiefest men to fall through covetousness: they greatly blamed Lysander for bringing of it into Lacedæmon, beseeching the Ephori that they would send all this gold and silver out of Sparta, as a plague, provocation, and

Gylippus robbed part of the money he carried to Sparta

The iron money of Lacedæmonia

wicked bait, to make them do evil: declaring unto them, that they should use no other money, but their own only. Whereupon they referred all to the wisdom and determination of the council. Theopompus writeth, that Sciraphidas was he that did move the council of the Ephori in it. Howbeit Ephorus calleth him Phlogidas, who was the first that spake against it in the council, that they should not admit, nor receive into the city of Sparta, any money of gold or silver: but should only content themselves with their own country iron coin, the which first of all, coming from the fire red-hot, was quenched with vinegar, to the end they should be forged no more, nor employed unto any other use. For it was so eager and brittle by means of this temper, that they could no more convert it to any other purpose: and beside, it was very heavy and unhandsome to remove, considering that a great heap and quantity of it, was but of small value. And it seemeth they did use of old time, certain little iron money, and in some places copper money, called *Obelisci*, from whence the small pieces of money now extant are called *Oboli*, whereof six make a *Drachma*, so termed, for that it was as much as the hand could grip. Nevertheless, at the earnest suit of Lysander's friends that stood against it, and held hard with him: it was decreed in the council, that the money should remain in the city, and ordained that it should be current only but for the affairs of the commonwealth. And if it were found, that any private man did either lock up, or keep any money, that he should suffer death for it: as if Lycurgus when he made his laws, feared gold and silver, and not

the covetousness and avarice which the gold and silver bringeth with it. The which was not taken away so much, prohibiting private men to have it: as it was engendred only by a toleration of getting it. For, the profit which they saw it brought withal, made it to be esteemed and desired. For it was unpossible they should despise a thing privately for unprofitable, which they saw reckoned of commonly, as a thing very necessary: and that they should think it would not serve their turn privately, seeing it so commonly esteemed and desired. But we are rather to think, that private men's manners are conformed according to the common uses and customs of cities: than that the faults and vices of private men do fill cities and common weals with ill qualities. And it is more likely, that the parts are marred and corrupted with an infection of the whole, when it falleth out ill: than that the parts corrupted should draw the whole unto corruption. For to the contrary, the faults of a part destroyed, which might be prejudicial unto the whole, are oftentimes redressed and corrected by the other parts, whole and entire. But they that took this resolution in their council at that time, to have money in the commonwealth: made fear of punishment, and of the law, to be the outward watchmen of citizens' houses, to keep that no money should come into them. But all this while they made no inward provision, to keep the entry of their souls from all passion and greedy desires of money: but to the contrary, they made them all to have a covetous desire to be rich, as if it were a great and honourable thing. But for that we have heretofore in other places reproved

The cause of disorder in a common-weal

Lysander's honours and pride

the Lacedæmonians. And moreover Lysander caused a statue of brass to be made like himself of the spoil he had gotten of the enemies, to set it up in the city of Delphes, and for every private captain of the galleys in like case: and the two stars of Castor and Pollux in gold besides, which vanished away a little before the battell of Leuctra, and no man knew what became of them. Again, in the chamber of the treasury of Brasidas, and of the Acanthians, there was also a galley made of gold and ivory, of two cubits long, which Cyrus sent unto him after the victory he had won by sea, of the Athenians. And furthermore, Alexandrides the historiographer born at Delphes, writeth, that the self same Lysander had left there to be kept safe, a talent of silver, two-and-fifty Minas, and eleven pieces of gold called Stateres. But all this accordeth not with that which all the other historiographers write, agreeing of his poverty. But Lysander being aloft then, and of greater power than ever any Grecian was before him: carried a greater port and countenance than became his ability. For, as Duris writeth, he was the first of the Grecians unto whom they did ever erect any altars, and offer sacrifice unto as a god, and in honour of whom they did first sing any hymns: and at this day there is yet good memory of one which began in this manner:

The noble captain's praise we mean to celebrate
Of Greece: that land which is divine in every kind of state.
Even he, which was both born, and brought to high renown,
Within the noble wealthy walls of Sparta, stately town.

Lysander's ambition, pride, and cruelty

The Samians by public decree ordained, that the feasts of Juno, which were called in their city Heræa, should be called Lysandreia. Lysander had ever one Chœrilus a Spartan poet about him, to write and set forth all his doings in verse. Another poet called Antilochus, one day made certain verses in his praise: which pleased him so well, that he gave him his hat full of silver. There were two other poets, Antimachus Colophonian, and Niceratus born at Heraclea, which did both write verses to honour him, striving whether of them should do best. Lysander judged the crown and victory unto Niceratus: wherewith Antimachus was so angry, that he razed out all that he had written of him. But Plato who at that time was young, and loved Antimachus because he was an excellent poet, did comfort him, and told him that ignorance did blind the understanding of the ignorant, as blindness doth the sight of the blind. Aristonous an excellent player of the citern, and one that had six times won the prizes of the Pythian games: to win Lysander's favour, promised him, that if ever he wan the prize of his art again, he would cause himself to be proclaimed Lysander's slave. This ambition of Lysander was very odious and grievous, only unto great persons, and men of his estate: but besides his ambition, in the end he became very proud and cruel, through the flatteries of his followers, and them that courted him: so that he exceeded in recompensing his friends, as also in punishing of his enemies. For, to gratify his friends and familiars, he gave them absolute power and authority of life and death in their towns and cities: and to pacify and appease

Lysander brake his word and oath

his anger where he once hated, there was no other way but death, without all possibility of pardon. And that he plainly shewed afterwards in the city of Miletus, where, fearing lest they would fly that took part with the people, and because he would have them appear that hid themselves: he gave his word, and sware that he would do them no hurt at all. The poor men gave credit to his word. But so soon as they came out, and did appear, he delivered them all into the hands of their adversaries, (which were the chiefest of the nobility) to put them all to death: and they were no less than eight hundred men one with another. He caused great murders of people also to be done in other cities: for he did not only put them to death that had privately offended him, but numbers besides, only to satisfy and revenge the private quarrels, enmities and covetousness of his friends, whom he had in every place. And therefore was Eteocles Lacedæmonian greatly commended for his saying: That Greece could not abide two Lysanders. Theophrastus writeth also, that the very like was spoken of Alcibiades by Archestratus. Howbeit in Alcibiades there was nothing but his insolency and vainglory that men misliked: but in Lysander, a severe nature, and sharp conditions, that made his power fearful and intolerable. Nevertheless, the Lacedæmonians passed over all other complaints exhibited against him: saving when they heard the complaints of Pharnabazus, who purposely sent ambassadors unto them, to complain of the wrongs and injuries Lysander had done him, spoiling and destroying the country under his government. Then the Ephori being offended with him, clapped up

Thorax in prison, one of his friends and captains that had served under him: and finding that he had both gold and silver in his house contrary to the law, put him to death. And to himself they sent immediately that which they call *Scytala*, (as who would say, the scroll written upon a round staff) commanding him that he should return immediately upon receipt thereof. The Scytala is in this sort. When the Ephori do send a general, or an admiral to the wars, they cause two little round staves to be made of the like bigness and length, of which the Ephori do keep the one, and the other they give to him whom they send to the wars. These two little staves they call Scytals. Now when they will advertise their general secretly of matters of importance, they take a scroll of parchment, long and narrow like a leather thong, and wreath it about the round staff, leaving no void space between the knots of the scroll. Afterwards when they have bound them fast together, then they write upon the parchment thus rolled what they will, and when they have done writing, unfold it, and send it to their general, who cannot else possibly read it to know what is written, (because the letters are not joined together, nor follow in order, but are scattered here and there) until he take his little roll of wood which was given him at his departure. And then wreathing the scroll of parchment about it which he receiveth, the folding and wreaths of the parchment falling just into the self same place as they were first folded, the letters also come to join one with another, as they ought to do. This little scroll of parchment also is called as the roll of wood, Scytala, even as we commonly

The Scytala what manner thing it is

Lysander carrieth letters against himself

see in many places that the thing measured, is also called by the name of the measure. When this parchment scroll was brought unto Lysander, who was then in the country of Hellespont, he was marvellously troubled withal, fearing above all other things the accusations of Pharnabazus: so he sought means to speak with him before he departed, hoping thereby to make his peace with him. When they were together, Lysander prayed him he would write another letter unto the Lords of Sparta, contrary to his first, how that he had done him no hurt at all, and that he had no cause to complain of him: but he did not remember that he was a Cretan, (as the common proverb sayeth) that could deceive another Cretan. For Pharnabazus having promised him that he would perform his desire, wrote a letter openly, purporting the effect of Lysander's request: but behind he had another of contrary effect, so like on the outside unto the other, that by sight no man could discern the one from the other. And when he came to put his seal, he changed the first with the last that was hidden, and gave it him. When Lysander came unto Sparta, he went as the manner is, straight to the palace where the Senate kept, and gave his letters unto the Ephors, thinking that by them he should have been cleared from all danger of the greatest accusations they could have burdened him withal: because that Pharnabazus was very well thought on of the Lords of Lacedæmonia, for that he did ever shew himself willing and ready to help them in all their wars, more than any other of the king's lieutenants of Persia. The Ephori having read this letter, they shewed it unto him. Then

did Lysander plainly see, that the common proverb was true,

That Ulysses was not subtile alone.

He goeth to Jupiter Ammon

Thereupon he went home to his house marvellously troubled. But within few days after returning to the palace again to speak with the Lords of the Council, he told them that he must needs make a voyage unto the temple of Jupiter Ammon, to discharge certain sacrifices which he had vowed and promised to him before he had won the battels. Some say, that indeed Jupiter Ammon appeared to him in a dream as he did besiege the city of the Aphytæans, in the country of Thrace, and that by his commandment he raised the siege, and charged them of the city, that they should thank Jupiter Ammon, and do sacrifice unto him: by reason whereof, they think that he meant good faith, when he sued for licence to make this voyage into Libya, to perform the vows which he had made. But the most part did certainly believe that he made suit to go this journey, for a cloak and colour only to absent himself, because he feared the Ephors, and that he could not endure the yoke and subjection which he must abide remaining at home, neither could like to be commanded. And this was the true cause of his suit to go this voyage, much like unto a horse taken out of a fresh pasture and goodly meadows, to bring him into a stable, and make him to be journeyed as he was before. Nevertheless, Ephorus writeth another cause, the which I will recite hereafter. In the end, Lysander having hardly obtained licence, took ship, and hoised sail. But during his absence, the kings of Lacedæmon

King Pausanias reconciled he Athenians with the Spartans

remembering that he kept all the cities at his commandment, by means of the friends he had in every city, whom he had made chief governors of the same, and that by their means he came in manner to be absolute prince over all Greece: they took upon them to redeliver the government of the towns and cities again into the hands of the people, and also to put down his friends whom he had stablished there. And hereupon fell out great insurrection again. For first of all, they that were banished from Athens, having surprised and taken the castle of Phylé, upon the sodain did set upon the thirty governors tyrants (whom Lysander had placed there) and overcame them in battell. Whereupon Lysander straight returned to Sparta, and persuaded the Lacedæmonians to refer the government to the number of a few, and to punish the insolency of the people. So by his procurement, they sent first a hundred talents unto the thirty tyrants for an aid to maintain this war, and appointed Lysander himself general. But the two kings of Sparta envying him, and fearing lest he should take the city of Athens again: they determined that one of them would go. Whereupon Pausanias went thither immediately, who in appearance seemed to maintain the tyrants against the people: but in effect, he did his endeavour to appease this war, for fear lest Lysander by means of his friends and followers should once again come to have the city of Athens in his power, the which he might easily do. And thus having agreed the Athenians again one with another, and pacified all faction and commotion among them, he plucked up the root of Lysander's ambi-

tion. But shortly after, the Athenians rebelling again against the Lacedæmonians, Pausanias himself was reproved, because he yielded so much to the boldness and insolency of the people, which were bridled and restrained before, by the authority of the small number of governors: and to the contrary, they gave Lysander the honour to be general, who ruled not in this rebellion to please men's minds and to content them, neither with fond ostentation of glory, but severely, for the profit and commodity of Sparta. It is true he would give great words, and was terrible to them that resisted him. As he answered the Argives one day, who contended for their confines with the Lacedæmonians, and seemed to allege the best reasons. Even they (said he) that shall prove the stronger hereby (shewing them his sword) shall be they that shall plead their cause best for their confines. Another time, when a Megarian had told his mind boldly enough in open council, he answered him: Thy words (good friend) had need of a city, meaning thereby that he was of too mean a town to use so great words. And to the Bœotians also, who were in doubt to profess themselves friends or enemies: he sent unto them, to know if he should pass through the country with his pikes upwards or downwards. And when the Corinthians also were revolted from their alliance, he brought his army hard unto their walls: but when he saw his men were afraid, and made cursey whether they should go to the assault or not: by chance spying a hare coming out of the town ditches, he said unto them: Are ye not ashamed to be afraid to go and assault your enemies that are so cowardly and slothful, as hares do keep their forms

Lysander's terrible words

Lysander depriveth Leotychides of his kingdom

at ease within the circuit of their walls? Now King Agis being deceased, he left behind him his brother Agesilaus, and his supposed son Leotychides. Wherefore, Lysander that had loved Agesilaus aforetime, gave him counsel to stand for the right of the crown, as lawful heir and next of the blood, descending of the race of Hercules: because it was suspected that Leotychides was Alcibiades' son, who secretly had kept Timæa, Agis' wife, at what time he was banished out of his country, and came then to remain in Sparta. And Agis self also, concluding by reckoning of the time of his absence, that his wife could not be with child by him: made reckoning of Leotychides, (and had openly shewed it all the rest of his lifetime) that he did not acknowledge him for his son, until such time as falling sick of that disease whereof he died, he was carried to the city of Heræa. And there lying in his deathbed, at the humble suit of Leotychides himself, and partly at the instant request of his friends who were importunate with him: he did acknowledge Leotychides for his son in the presence of divers, whom he prayed to be witnesses unto the Lords of Lacedæmon, of his acceptation and acknowledging of him to be his son. Which they all did in favour of Leotychides. For all that, Agesilaus took it upon him, by the support and maintenance of Lysander's favour. Howbeit, Diopithes a wise man, and known to be skilful in ancient prophecies, did great hurt to Agesilaus' side, by an ancient oracle which he alleged against a defect Agesilaus had, which was his lameness:

> O Spartan people, you which bear high haughty hearts,
> And look aloft: take heed I say, look well unto your marts:

Lest whiles you stand upright, and guide your state by grace,
Some halting kingdom privily come creeping in apace.
By that means might you move great troubles, cark and care,
And mischiefs heap upon your head, before you be aware.
And plungéd should you be, even over head and ears,
With waste of wars, which here on earth doth perish many peers.

Agesilaus was made king

Many by occasion of this oracle, fell to take Leotychides' part: but Lysander declared unto them, that Diopithes did not construe the meaning of the oracle well. For God, said he, cared not whether he halted of one leg or no, that should come to be king of Lacedæmon: but indeed the crown and kingdom should halt and be lame, if bastards not lawfully begotten, should come to reign over the true natural issue and right line of Hercules. By these persuasions, Lysander with his great countenance and authority besides, wan all men to his opinion: so that Agesilaus by this means, was proclaimed king of Lacedæmon. This done, Lysander began straight to counsel him to make wars in Asia, putting him in hope that he should destroy the kingdom of Persia, and should come to be the greatest man of the world. Moreover, he wrote unto his friends in the cities of Asia, that they should send unto the Lacedæmonians to require King Agesilaus for their general, to make wars against the barbarous people. Which they did, and sent ambassadors purposely unto Sparta to sue that they might have him: the which was no less honour procured unto Agesilaus by Lysander's means, than that he did, in making him to be chosen king. But men ambitious by nature, being other-

mbition abideth equals

wise not unapt nor unfit to command, have this imperfection: that through the jealousy of glory, they do commonly envy their equals, the which doth greatly hinder them for doing any notable things. For they take them for their enemies, envying their vertue, whose service and means might help them to do great matters. Thus Agesilaus being chosen general of this enterprise, took Lysander with him in this journey, amongst the thirty councillors which were given unto him to assist him: and made special choice of him, as by whose counsel he hoped most to be governed, and to have him nearest about him, as his chiefest friend. But when they were arrived in Asia, they of the country having no acquaintance with Agesilaus, seldom spake with him, or but little: and to the contrary, having known Lysander of long time, they followed him, and waited upon him to his tent or lodging, some to honour him, because they were his friends, others for fear, because they did mistrust him. Even much like as it falleth out oftentimes in the theatres, when they play tragedies there: that he that shall play the person of some messenger or servant, shall be the best player, and shall have the best voice to be heard above all others: and to the contrary, that he which hath the royal band about his head, and the sceptre in his hand, a man doth scant hear him speak. Even so it fell out then: for all the dignity due unto him that commandeth all, was shewed only unto the counsellor: and there remained to the king no more, but the royal name only of a king, without any power. Therefore me thinks that this undiscreet and importunate ambition of Lysander, did well deserve reproof, even to make him to be

contented only with the second place of honour next unto the king. But for Agesilaus again, through extreme covetousness and jealousy of glory, to cast Lysander altogether off, and to set so light by his friend and benefactor, that surely became not him neither. For first of all, Agesilaus never gave Lysander occasion to do anything, neither did commit any matter of weight unto him, that might be honourable for him: but which is worst of all, if he perceived that he had taken any men's causes in hand, and that he did favour them, he did always send them back again into their country, denying their suit, without that they could obtain anything they sued for, less than the meanest persons that could have come, extinguishing Lysander's credit by little and little, and taking from him all authority by this means. Wherefore, Lysander perceiving how he was thus refused and rejected in all things, seeing that the countenance and favour which he thought to shew unto his friends, fell out hurtful unto them: left off to solicit their matters any more, and prayed them to forbear to come unto him, or to follow him, but to go to the king, and unto those that could do them better pleasure than himself, and specially those that honoured him. When they heard that, many desisted to trouble him any more in matters of importance, but not to do him all the honour they could, and continued still to accompany him, when he went out to walk, or otherwise to exercise himself: the which did aggravate and increase Agesilaus' anger more against him, for the envy he bare unto his glory. And where he gave very honourable charge and commission in the wars, oftentimes unto very mean soldiers to execute,

Lysander's wisdom

Lysander's talk with King Agesilaus

or cities to govern: he appointed Lysander surveyor-general of all the ordinary provision of victuals, and distributor of flesh. And then mocking the Ionians that did honour him so much: Let them go now, said he, and honour my flesh distributor. Wherefore, Lysander seeing it high time to speak, went unto Agesilaus, and told him in few words after the Laconian manner: Truly, Agesilaus, thou hast learned well to abase thy friends. Indeed said he again, so have I, when they will be greater than myself: and to the contrary, they that maintain and increase my honour and authority, it is reason that I esteem of them. Yea marry, said Lysander, but perhaps I have not done as thou sayest. Yet I pray thee give me such an office, as I may be least hated, and most profitable for thee: though it be but in respect of strangers' eyes that look upon us both. After this talk between them, Agesilaus sent him his lieutenant into the country of Hellespont, where Lysander still kept this anger secret in his heart against him, but for all that, did not leave to do all that he could for the benefit of his maister's affairs. As amongst many other things, he caused a Persian captain called Spithridates, to rebel against his maister, who was a valiant man of his hands, and a great enemy of Pharnabazus, and had an army also which he brought with him unto Agesilaus. Now concerning this war, this was all that he did in that journey. Wherefore, he returned again to Sparta not long after, with little honour, being marvellously grieved and offended with Agesilaus, and hating more than before, all the state and government of the city of Sparta: by reason whereof, he determined to put that in prac-

tice, which he had long time thought upon, concerning the alteration of government, and his enterprise was this. Amongst the offspring and issue of Hercules, who were mingled with the Dorians, and returned again into the country of Peloponnesus, the greatest number and chiefest of them, dwelt in the city of Sparta: howbeit, all they that came of that race had no right of succession to the crown, saving two families only, the Eurytiontids, and the Agiads. The other families, albeit they were all for nobility of blood descended out of one self house, yet had they no more right nor interest unto the realm, than the residue of the people: for, the dignities that were attained unto by vertue, were given unto the inhabitants that could deserve them. Lysander then being one of those which was descended of the true race of Hercules, who notwithstanding had no interest in the crown: when he saw himself aloft, and called to great honour through his famous acts and merits, and that he had won many friends, and great credit and authority by dealing in matters of the state: it grieved him much, to see that they which were no nobler than himself, should be kings in that city, which he had increased by his vertue, and that he could not have so much power as to take from these two houses, the Eurytiontids and the Agiads, the prerogative, that the kings should be chosen only out of one of those two houses, and to cast it upon the offspring of Hercules. Some say again, that he would not only have enlarged that prerogative unto the issue of Hercules, but unto all the natural Spartans also: because that Hercules' race should not only desire this reward of honour, but

The families of the kings of Lacedæmon

Lysander deviseth false oracles

even they also that followed his steps in vertue, which had made him equal with the gods in honour. For he doubted not, but if they would dispose the crown in this sort, that there was no man in the city of Sparta that should sooner be chosen king than himself: whereupon he attempted first to persuade his citizens by very good reasons, and to bring this about the better, he conned an oration without book, penned by Cleon Halicarnassius, made him for this purpose. But afterwards weighing with himself, that so great and strange a change as he would bring in, had need of some better and stronger help: he began to frame a device as they say, to move the people by, much after the manner they use in tragedies, framing engines to bring some god to come down from heaven unto them, and this was his feigned invention. He devised certain oracles and prophecies, thinking that all Cleon's rhetorick would stand him in no stead, if first of all he did not fill the citizens' hearts with some superstition and fear of the gods, that he might bring them afterwards more easily unto reason. And Ephorus sayeth, that he proved first to corrupt the nun with money, that giveth all the oracles and answers in the temple of Apollo at Delphes: and that afterwards, he would have won the nun also of the temple of Dodone with money, by Pherecles' practice. And that he being rejected by them both, went lastly unto the temple of Jupiter Ammon: and that there he spake unto the priests, and offered them great store of money for the same purpose. But they were so offended with Lysander, that they sent men of purpose to Sparta, to accuse him, that he would have corrupted them

with money. The council clearing Lysander of this accusation, the Libyans his accusers at their departing said: We will one day judge more justly, than you my Lords of Lacedæmon have done now, when you shall come to dwell in our country of Libya: supposing there was an ancient prophecy that said, the Lacedæmonians one day should come to dwell in the country of Libya. But we shall do better to write the whole story at large of this practice, subtlety, and malicious device, which was no matter of small importance, nor lightly grounded: but as in a mathematical proposition there were many great conjectures and presuppositions, and many long circumstances to bring it to conclusion, the which I will dilate from point to point, delivering that which an historiographer and philosopher both hath written. There was in the marches of the realm of Pont, a woman that said she was gotten with child by Apollo, the which many (as it is to be thought) would not believe at all, and many also did believe it: so that she being delivered of a goodly son, divers noble men and of great estate were careful to bring him up, and to have him taught. This child, I know not whereupon, nor how, was named Silenus: and Lysander fetching the plat of his device from thence, added to all the rest of himself, to go on with his practice. Now he had many (and they no small men) that made his way to frame this jest, giving out a rumour of the birth of this child, without any suspicion gathered out of the intent of this rumour. And furthermore, they brought other news from Delphes, which they dispersed abroad through the city of Sparta, to wit: that the priests of the temple kept

and corrupteth soothsayers with money

Lysander's feigned device

secret books of very ancient oracles, which they themselves durst not touch nor handle, neither might any man read them, unless he were begotten of the seed of Apollo, who should come after a long time, and make his birth appear unto the priests that kept these papers, and that by some secret mark and token, which they had amongst them: and thereby being known for Apollo's son, he might then take the books and read the ancient revelations and prophecies of the same. These things prepared in this sort, there was order taken that Silenus should come and ask for these books as though he were the son of Apollo: and that the priests which were privy to this practice, should make as though they did diligently examine him of everything, and how he was born. And that at the length, after they had seemed to know all, they should deliver these prophecies unto him, as if he had been indeed Apollo's son: and that he should openly read them in the presence of many witnesses. And among the rest of the prophecies, that he should read that specially, for the which this long paltry feigned drift was framed, touching the kingdom of Lacedæmonia: that it was better, and meetlier for the Spartans they should choose them for their kings, whom they found the meetest men of all their magistrates. But when Silenus was come of full age, and brought into Greece of purpose to perform this practice, all the mystery was marred by the faint heart of one of the players and companions of Lysander, who holp him to countenance this device: who when the matter should have taken effect, shrunk for fear, and let the mystery alone. This notwithstanding, nothing

was bewrayed in Lysander's lifetime, till after his death. For he died, before King Agesilaus returned out of Asia, being fallen into wars with Bœotia before his death, or rather having himself made Greece to fall into wars. They do report it either way, and some lay the fault upon him, other upon the Thebans, and other upon them both: and they burthen the Thebans withal, because they did utterly overthrow the common sacrifices which Agesilaus made in the city of Aulis. And they say also, that Androclides and Amphitheus did raise this war among the Grecians, being before corrupted with money by the king of Persia to bring wars upon the Lacedæmonians in Greece: and began to invade and destroy the country of the Phocians. Other say that Lysander was very angry with the Thebans, because they only of all other their confederates did ask the tenth part of all the spoil which was won in the war against the Athenians: and that they were not pleased that Lysander had sent the money away unto Sparta. But above all, Lysander did malice them most, because they were the first that made way for the Athenians to be delivered from the oppression of thirty tyrants, whom he had stablished governors in Athens, and in whose favour (to make them to be dreaded the more) the Lacedæmonians had ordained by a common edict: that they that were banished and did flee from Athens, might lawfully be taken and apprehended in what place soever they fled unto, and that whosoever should resist or let them to do it, they should be proclaimed rebels, and open enemies unto the Lacedæmonians. Again to contrary this edict, the Thebans made another

to possess the kingdom

Edicts for and against the banished men

very like, and meet for the glorious deeds of Bacchus and Hercules their ancestors, for whom it was made: that every house and city through the country of Bœotia, should be open for the Athenians that would come thither, and that he that would not help a banished man from Athens, against him that would take him away by force, should be fined and amerced at a talent. And also if there were any soldiers that went unto Athens, through the country of Bœotia, that the Thebans should not see nor hear it. This was no dissimulation to speak of, that they should ordain things with so gentle words, and so meet for the people of Greece, and then that the deeds should not answer unto their edicts and proclamations. For Thrasybulus, and his fellows of the conspiracy, who kept the castle of Phylé, they departed from Thebes, with armour and money, and the Thebans did help them to begin and practise their enterprise so secretly, that it was not discovered. These were the causes why Lysander was so earnestly bent against the Thebans, and his choler being so extreme, by reason of his melancholiness that grew daily upon him more and more through his age, he solicited the Ephors so, that he persuaded them to send a garrison thither: and himself taking the charge of them, undertook the journey straight with his men. But afterwards they sent King Pausanias also with an army thither, who was to fetch a great compass about to enter into the country of Bœotia, by Mount Cithæron: and Lysander should go to meet him through the country of Phocis, with a great company of soldiers besides. Now as Lysander went, he took

the city of the Orchomenians, who willingly yielded themselves to him as soon as he came thither. From thence he went to the city of Lebadea, which he spoiled: and from thence he wrote unto King Pausanias that departing from Platæa, he should march directly to the city of Haliart, where he would not fail to meet him the next morning by break of day at the town walls. These letters were intercepted by certain scouts of the Thebans, who met with the messenger that carried them. Thus the Thebans having intelligence of their purpose, left their city in custody unto the Athenians who were come to aid them: and departed out of Thebes about midnight, and marched all night with great speed, that they came to Haliart in the morning a little before Lysander, and put half their men into the city. Now for Lysander, he was determined at the first to keep his men upon a hill which is near to the city, and there to tarry the coming of King Pausanias. But afterwards when he saw that the day was far spent, and that he came not, he could tarry no longer, but arming himself, after he had made an oration unto the confederates which he had brought with him, he marched on with his men in battell ray, longer than large, by the highway that went unto the city. In the mean season, the Thebans that were left without the city, leaving Haliart on the left hand, did set upon Lysander's rearward of his army against the fountain called Cissusa: where the poets feign that the nurses of Bacchus did wash him, when he came out of his mother's womb, because the water that cometh out of it (though it be very clear and sweet to drink) hath notwithstanding (I cannot tell by what means)

Lysander's journey unto Bœotia

Lysander slain by the Thebans

a colour like wine: and not far from thence there grow great plenty of styrap trees. The which the Haliartians do allege, to prove that Rhadamanthus heretofore dwelt in that part, and do shew his sepulchre there yet to this day, which they call Alea. And hard by that also, there is the monument of Alcmena, which was buried (as they say) in that place, and was married to Rhadamanthus, after the death of Amphitryon. But the Thebans who were within the city with the Haliartians, stirred not until they saw that Lysander with the first of his troop was near unto the town walls: and then opening the gates on the sudden, they made a sally out upon Lysander, and slew him with his soothsayer and a few other, because the most part of the voward fled into the strength of the battell. Howbeit the Thebans gave them not over so, but followed them so valiantly, that they brake their order, and made them all fly through the mountains, after they had slain three thousand of them in the field: so were there three hundred Thebans also slain there, who followed their enemies so fiercely, till they recovered strait narrow ways, of great strength for them. These three hundred were in manner all those that were suspected in Thebes to favour the Lacedæmonians secretly: wherefore, for the desire they had to take away this opinion from their citizens, they hazarded themselves to no purpose, and were cast away in this chase. King Pausanias heard news of this overthrow, going from Platæa unto Thespiæ, and went on further, marching still in battell ray towards Haliart, where Thrasybulus also arrived at

the self same time, bringing the aid of the Athenians from Thebes. And when Pausanias was purposed to send to ask license of the enemies to take away the bodies of their men which they had slain, to the intent to bury them: the old Spartans that were in his army, misliking it much, at the first were angry in themselves. But afterwards they went unto the king himself, to tell him that he dishonoured Sparta, to offer to take up Lysander's body by his enemies leave and favour, and that he should valiantly recover him by force of arms, and honourably bury him, after that he had overcome their enemies: or else if it were their fortune to be overthrown, that yet it should be more honourable for them to lie dead in the field by their captain, than to ask leave to take up his body. But notwithstanding all these words of the old men, King Pausanias seeing that it was a hard matter to overcome the Thebans in battell, now that they had gotten the victory, and furthermore, that the body of Lysander lay hard by the walls of Haliart, and that he could not come to take it away without great danger, although they should win the battell: he sent a herald to the enemies. And having made truce for certain days, he led his army away, and took up Lysander's body with him, and buried him after they were out of the confines of Bœotia, within the territory of the Panopeians: where until this day his tomb remaineth upon the highway, going from Delphes unto the city of Chæronea. Thus Pausanias' camp being lodged there, it is said there was a Phocian, who reporting the battle unto one that was not there, said that the enemies came

Lysander's tomb

Neochorus slew Lysander

to give a charge upon them, as Lysander had passed the Hoplites. The other wondring at that, there was a Spartan a very friend of Lysander's by, having heard all their talk, asked him what that was which he called Hoplites: for that he had not heard that word named before. What? answered the Phocian to him again. Even there it was where the enemies did overthrow the first of our men which were slain in the fields: for the river that runneth by the walls of the city, is called Hoplites. The Spartan hearing that, burst out of weeping for sorrow, saying: then I see it is unpossible for a man to avoid his destiny. For Lysander aforetime had an oracle that told him thus:

> Lysander, take good heed, come not, I thee advise:
> Near Hoplités that river's banks, in any kind of wise.
> Nor near the dragon, he which is the earth her son,
> Who at the length will thee assault, and on thy back will run.

Howbeit some take it, that this river of Hoplites is not that which passeth by the walls of Haliart, but it is the river that runneth near unto the city of Coronea, and falleth into the river of Philarus, hard by the city: and they say that in old time it was called Hoplia, but now they call it Isomantus. He that slew Lysander, was an Haliartian called Neochorus, who carried a dragon painted upon his target: and this was that which the oracle of likelihood did signify. They say also, that in the time of the wars of Peloponnesus, the Thebans had an oracle from the temple of Apollo Ismenius: which

oracle did prophecy the battle which they wan by the castle of Delium, and the battell of Haliart also, which was thirty years after that. The effect of that oracle was this:

Lysander's clean hands and poverty

When thou thy nets shalt spread, the wolves for to entrap:
Beware thou come not near unto a little hill by hap,
Of Orchalid, nor near to any his confines:
For there, the crafty foxes keep their dens and privy mines.

He calleth the territory that is about Delium, the uttermost confines, because Bœotia doth confine there with the country of Attica: and the hill Orchalid which is now called Alopecon (to say the fox den) which lieth on that side of the city of Haliart, that looketh towards Mount Helicon. Lysander being slain, the Spartans took his death so ill, that they would have condemned King Pausanias of treason by law: who durst not abide the trial, but fled unto the city of Tegea, where he ended the rest of his life within the sanctuary of the temple of Minerva. When Lysander was dead, his poverty appeared to the world which made his vertue far more famous, than when he lived. For then they saw, that for all the gold and silver which had passed through his hands, for all his great authority and countenance that he had carried, and for all that so many cities and towns did come to honour him, and briefly, for all that he had so great and puissant a kingdom in manner in his hands: yet he did never enrich nor increase his house with so much as one farthing. So writeth Theopompus, whom

Lysander honoured by the Spartans

we should rather believe when he praiseth, than when he discommendeth: for commonly he taketh more delight to dispraise, than to praise any. It fortuned not long after, as Ephorus writeth, that the Lacedæmonians and their confederates fell at variance together, whereupon Lysander's letters were to be seen that were in his house. King Agesilaus going thither to peruse them, amongst other writings, found the oration penned by Cleon Halicarnassius which Lysander had prepared to persuade the Spartans to change their government, and to declare unto them that they should revoke the prerogative which the Eurytiontids and the Agiads had, that the kings of Sparta could not be chosen but out of those two families, and to leave the prerogative at liberty, that the chiefest magistrates might be lawfully chosen kings of Sparta. Agesilaus stood indifferent to have shewed this oration openly to the people, that the Spartans might see what manner a citizen Lysander had been in his heart. But Lacratidas, a grave wise man, and president at that time of the Council of the Ephori, would not suffer him: saying, That he should not dig Lysander out of his grave again, but rather bury his oration with him, that was so passingly well, and eloquently penned to persuade. Yet notwithstanding, they did him great honour after his death: and amongst others, condemned two citizens in a great sum of money, that were made sure to two of his daughters while he lived, and refused to marry them when he was dead, seeing their father died so poor: because they sought to match in his house, supposing he had been rich, and forsook them afterwards for their father's poverty, when they saw

he died a good and just man. Thus we see, that at Sparta there was a punishment for them that did not marry, or that married too late, or that married ill: and unto this punishment were they most subject, that sought great matches for coveteousness of goods. This is all we have to write of Lysander's life and acts.

after his death

THE END OF LYSANDER'S LIFE.

THE LIFE OF SULLA

Sulla's kindred

LUCIUS CORNELIUS SULLA was of the race of the Patricians, who be the noble men and gentlemen of Rome: and there was one of his ancestors called Rufinus, that obtained the dignity of Consul. He notwithstanding his Consulship, wan more dishonour by defame, than he obtained honour by dignity of Consul. For they finding in his house above ten pounds worth of plate, contrary to the law at that time expressly forbidding it: he was expulsed the Senate, and lost his place there, after which dishonour once received, his issue never rose, nor yet recovered it. And Sulla himself had very little left him by his father: so that in his youth he was fain to hire another man's house, and sat at a small rent, as afterwards he was twitted in the teeth withal, when they saw him richer than they thought he had deserved. For when he gloried and boasted of the victory at his return from the wars of Africk, there was a noble man that said unto him: Why, how is it possible thou shouldest be an honest man, that having nothing left thee by thy father, thou art now come to have so much? Now, though Rome had left her ancient justice and pureness of life, wherewith she brought up her people in former times, and that their hearts were poisoned with covetous desire of vain superfluous delights: yet notwithstanding it

was as foul a reproach to them that did not maintain themselves in the poverty of their fathers, as unto them that did consume their patrimony, and bring all to naught which their parents had left them. But afterwards also when he carried the whole sway in Rome, and that he had put so many men to death: a free man being born of the slaves enfranchised, and being ready to be thrown down the rock Tarpeian, because he had saved and hidden one of the outlaws and men proclaimed to be put to death, wheresoever they were found: cast it in Sulla's teeth, how that they had lived and dwelt together a long time in one self house, he having payed a thousand nummos for the rent of the uppermost rooms of the same house, and Sulla three thousand for all the nethermost rooms beneath. So that between both their wealths, there was but only two thousand and fifty drachmas of Athens difference. And this is that we find in writing of his first wealth. As for his stature and person, that appeareth sufficiently by the statues and images that were made for him, which yet remain. But for his eyes, they were like fire, and wonderful red: and the colour of his face withal, made them the more fearful to behold. For he was copper nosed, and that was full of white streaks here and there: whereupon they say that the surname of a Sulla was given him, by reason of his colour. And there was a jester at Athens that finely mocked him in his verse:

His stature and person

Sulla is like a blackberry sprinkled with meal.

It is not amiss to search out the natural disposition of this man by such outward marks and tokens. It is said also that he was so naturally given to mock

Sulla's voluptuousness

and jest, that being a young man unknown, he would never be out of the company of players, fools, and tumblers, but still eating and tippling with them in dissolute manner. And afterwards also when he was in his chiefest authority, he would commonly eat and drink with the most impudent jesters and scoffers, and all such rake-hells, as made profession of counterfeit mirth, and would strive with the baddest of them to give the finest mocks: wherein he did not only a thing uncomely for his years, and dishonoured the majesty of his office and dignity, but thereby also grew careless and negligent in matters of great importance, whereunto he should have taken good regard. For after he was once set at his table, he was not to be moved any more in matters of weight. Now, though from the table he was commonly found both very active, painful, and severe: yet falling into such company by drinking, boosing, and making good cheer, he suddenly became another manner of man. So that without all compass of modesty and judgement, he was too familiar and conversant with players, jesters, tumblers, and dancers: who when they had him in that vein, might do what they would with him. Of this rioting came (in mine opinion) his vice of lechery, whereunto he was greatly given, and easily drawn after love and pleasure: in such sort, as his grey hairs could not restrain his voluptuous life. His unlawful lusting love began in his young years, with one Metrobius a common player, which stretched on increasing his amorous desire until his later age. For at the first he loved Nicopolis a rich curtisan: and frequenting her company by oft access, and besides that he spent the prime of his beauty and

youth in feasting her with great delight and passing pleasure: she afterwards became in love with him, so that when she died, she made Sulla her heir of all she had. He was heir also unto his mother-in-law, who loved him as her own begotten son: and by these two good haps he was stept up to pretty wealth. Afterwards being chosen Quæstor (to say treasurer) the first time that Marius was Consul, he embarked with him in his journey into Africk, to war with King Jugurth. When he was arrived at the camp, he shewed himself a man of great service in all other things, but in this especially, that he could wisely use the benefit of any occasion offered him, and thereby wan Bocchus king of the Numidians to be his fast and faithful friend: whose ambassadors, that scaped from a company of Numidian thieves, he courteously entertained, and having given them goodly presents, sent them back again with a safe convoy. Now concerning King Bocchus, he had of long time both hated and feared King Jugurth his son-in-law: insomuch, that after he was overcome in battell, and came to him for succour, Bocchus practised treason against him and for this cause sent secretly for Sulla, desiring rather that Jugurth should be taken by Sulla, than by himself. Sulla brake this matter unto Marius, of whom having received a small number of soldiers to accompany him (without respect of peril or danger) went and committed himself to the faith and fidelity of one barbarous king, to take another: considering also that the king whom he trusted was so unjust of his word, even unto his nearest friends and confederates. Now Bocchus having Jugurth and Sulla both in his power, and brought himself

The cause of Bocchus' friendship unto Sulla

Sulla's noble deeds under Marius

to that pinch that of necessity he must betray the one or the other: after he had taken good breath to resolve which of the two he should deal withal, in the end went on with his first plot and device of treason, and so delivered Jugurth into Sulla's hands. Indeed Marius triumphed for taking of King Jugurth: but his evil-willers, for the spite and grudge they bare him, did attribute the glory and honour of Jugurth's taking wholly unto Sulla. That secretly went to Marius' heart, and specially for that Sulla being high minded by nature (coming then but newly from a base, obscure, and unknown life to be known and well accepted of the people in Rome, and to taste also what honour meant) became so ambitious and covetous of glory, that he caused the story to be graven in a ring, which he did ever after use to wear and seal withal: wherein King Bocchus was delivering of Jugurth unto Sulla, and Sulla also receiving Jugurth prisoner. These things misliked Marius much: but notwithstanding, judging that Sulla was not so much envied as himself, he took him with him unto the wars. Marius in his second Consulship, made Sulla one of his lieutenants: and in his third Consulship, he had charge under him of a thousand footmen, and did many notable and profitable exploits for him. When Sulla was his lieutenant he took one Copillus, a general of the Gauls Tectosages. And when he was colonel of a thousand footmen, he so wrought the Marsians (a marvellous great country of people in Italy) that he persuaded them to remain good friends, and confederates of the Romans. For this his good service, he found that Marius grew in great misliking with him, because from thenceforth he

never gave him any honourable charge, or occasion to show good service: but to the contrary, did what he could to hinder his rising. Wherefore, Sulla afterwards took Catulus Lutatius' part, who was companion with Marius in his Consulship. This Catulus was a very honest man, but somewhat slack and cold in martial matters, which was the cause that indeed he did commit unto Sulla all the special service, and matters of weight in his charge: whereupon he gave him occasion not only to increase his estimation, but also his credit and power. For, by force of arms, he conquered the most part of the barbarous people which inhabited the mountains of the Alps: and Catulus' camp lacking victuals, having commission, he made a marvellous great quantity of provision to be brought thither, insomuch as Catulus' camp being plentifully victualled, they sent their store and surplusage unto Marius' soldiers, the which Sulla himself writeth, did much mislike Marius. And this is the first cause of their enmity. The which being grounded upon so light occasion, was followed with civil wars, great effusion of blood, and with incurable factions and dissensions: that it ended at the length with a cruel tyranny, and confusion of all the Roman state and empire. This doth prove that Euripides the poet was a wise man, and one that foresaw the ruins of common weals, when he counselled and also commanded governors to fly ambition, as a most pestilent and mortal fury unto them that are once infected withal. Now Sulla thinking that the reputation he had gotten already in the wars, would have made his way open to prefer him to some honourable office in the city of

His doings under Catulus

Sulla chosen Prætor

Rome: he was no sooner returned from the wars but he would needs prove the people's good-wills unto him, and procured his name to be billed among them that sued for the Prætorship of the city (that is to say, the office of the ordinary judge that ministreth justice unto the citizens) but he was rejected by the voice of the people. For the which he laid the fault upon the meaner sort, saying, That the communalty knew well enough the friendship he had with King Bocchus, and that therefore they hoping that if he were made Ædilis before he came to be Prætor, he would make them see noble huntings and great fightings of wild beasts of Libya. And that therefore they did choose other Prætors, and put him by his suit, in hope to compel him by this means to be first of all Ædilis. Howbeit it seemeth that he doth not confess the truth of his refusal, for his own act doth condemn himself: because the next year following he was chosen Prætor, partly for that he wan the people with courtesy, and partly with money. So he falling out with Cæsar upon that occasion, in his anger threatened him that he would use the power and authority of his office upon him. But Cæsar smiling, answered him: Thou hast reason to call it thine office, for indeed it is thine, because thou hast bought it. But after the time of his Prætorship was expired, he was sent with an army into Cappadocia, colouring his voyage thither with commission to restore Ariobarzanes into his kingdom again: howbeit the only cause of his journey was indeed to suppress King Mithridates a little, who took too many things in hand, and increased his power and dominion with a new signiory of no less greatness,

than that which he had before. In truth he brought no great army out of Italy with him, but he was faithfully holpen by the confederates of the Romans in every place, through whose aid he overthrew a great number of the Cappadocians, and afterwards also a greater number of the Armenians, which came in like case to aid them: so that he expulsed Gordius king of Phrygia out of Cappadocia, and restored Ariobarzanes to his realm again. After which victory, Sulla remained by the river of Euphrates, and thither came unto him one Orobazus a Parthian, ambassador of Arsaces, king of the Parthians. Now these two nations, the Romans, and the Parthians, were never friends before: and that with other things shewed the great good fortune Sulla had, that the Parthians came first to him by his means to seek friendship with the Romans. They say, that receiving this ambassador Orobazus, he made three chairs to be brought out, the one for King Ariobarzanes, the other for Orobazus the ambassador, and the third for himself, which he placed in the middest between them both, and sitting down in the same, gave audience unto the ambassador: for which cause the King of Parthia afterwards put Orobazus to death. Some do commend Sulla for this act, for that he kept his state in such majesty among the barbarous people. Other do reprove his ambition in it, shewing himself stately out of time, and to no purpose. We do read that a soothsayer of Chaldea being in Orobazus' train, having diligently viewed and considered the physiognomy of Sulla, and all his other movings and gestures of mind and body, to judge not by the climate of the country, but according to the

Sulla and the Parthians

Civil wars

rules of his art what his nature should be: all well considered of, he said that Sulla one day must needs come to be a great man, and that he marvelled how he could suffer in that he was not even then the chiefest man of the world. When Sulla was returned again to Rome, one Censorinus accused him of extortion, that he had carried away a great sum of money with him, contrary to the law, out of one of their confederates' country: howbeit he prosecuted not his accusation, but gave it over. In the meantime, the enmity begun betwixt him and Marius, kindled again upon a new occasion of King Bocchus' ambition: who partly to creep further into the people's favour of Rome, and partly also for to gratify Sulla, gave and dedicated certain images of victory carrying tokens of triumph, unto the temple of Jupiter Capitoline, and next unto them also the image of Jugurth, which he delivered into the hands of Sulla, being all of pure gold. This did so offend Marius, that he attempted to take them away by force: but others did defend the cause of Sulla. So that for the quarrel of these two, the city of Rome taking arms, had like to have brought all to ruin: had not the wars of the confederates of Italy been, which of long time did kindle and smoke, but at the length broke out into open flame and sedition for that time. In this marvellous great war which fell out very dangerous, by sundry misfortunes and great losses to the Romans, Marius did no notable exploit: whereby it appeareth, that the vertue of warlike discipline hath need of a strong, lusty, and able body. For Sulla to the contrary, having done notable service, and obtained many profitable vic-

tories, wan the fame and estimation among the Romans, of a noble soldier, and worthy captain: and among the enemies themselves, of a most fortunate man. Notwithstanding, Sulla did not as Timotheus Athenian the son of Conon had done: who, when his adversaries and ill willers did attribute his noble deeds unto the favour of fortune, and did paint fortune in tables, that brought him all the cities taken and snared in nets whilst he slept: he took it in very ill part, and was marvellous angry with them that did it, saying, That they robbed him of the glory that justly belonged unto him. Wherefore one day when this Timotheus was returned from the wars with great victories, after he had openly acquainted the Athenians with the whole discourse of his doings in his voyage, he said unto them: My Lords of Athens, fortune hath had no part in all this which I have told unto you. Hereupon the gods it should seem were so angry with this foolish ambition of Timotheus, that he never afterwards did any worthy thing, but all went utterly against the hair with him: until at the length he came to be so hated of the people, that in the end they banished him from Athens. But Sulla to the contrary, did not only patiently abide their words, that said, he was a happy man, and singularly beloved of fortune: but also increasing this opinion, and glorying as at a special grace of the gods, did attribute the honour of his doings unto fortune, either for a vainglory, or for that he had in fancy, that the gods did prosper him in all his doings. For he wrote himself in his Commentaries, that the enterprises which he hazarded most hotly according to the sudden occasion offered,

Sulla gave fortune the honour of all his doings

Sulla's belief in dreams

did better prosper with him, than those which by good advice he had determined of. Futhermore, when he said that he was better born unto fortune, than to the wars: it seemeth that he confessed all his prosperity came rather by fortune, than by his worthiness. And to conclude, it appeareth that he did wholly submit himself unto fortune, acknowledging that he did altogether depend upon her: considering that he did attribute it to the special grace and favour of the gods, that he never disagreed with Metellus his father-in-law, who was a man of like dignity and authority as himself was. For where it was thought he would have been a great hinderer of his doings, he found him very courteous and gentle in his behalf, in all that they had to deal in together, by reason of the society of their office. And furthermore, in his Commentaries which he dedicated unto Lucullus, he counselled him to think nothing more certain and assured, than that which the gods should reveal unto him, and command him in his nights' dream. He writeth also that when he was sent with an army unto the wars of the confederates, the earth suddenly opened about Laverna, out of the which immediately came a marvellous bright flame of fire that ascended up to the element. The wise men being asked their opinions about the same, made answer that a very honest man, and also a marvellous fair man of complexion taking sovereign authority in his hands, should pacify all tumults and sedition which were at that time in Rome. Whereupon Sulla said it was himself whom the gods meant, because that amongst other things he had that singular gift of beauty, that his hair was

yellow as gold: and he was not ashamed to name himself an honest man, after he had won so many notable great victories. Thus have we sufficiently spoken of the trust he had in the favour of the gods. And furthermore, he seemed to be very contrary in his manners, and unlike to himself. For if he took away much in one place, he gave as much more also in another. Some he preferred without cause: and others he put down without reason. He would be very gentle unto them, of whom he would have ought: and unto those that sought of him, he would stand much upon his honour, and look for great reverence. Whereby men could hardly discern his nature, whether pride or flattery did more abound in him. And as for the inequality he used in punishing of them that had offended him: sometimes he hanged up men for very small and light causes: some other times again to the contrary, he patiently abode the most grievous offences in the world: and lightly pardoned and forgave such faults as were in no wise to be forgiven. And afterwards again would punish right small crimes, with murthers, effusion of blood, and confiscation of goods. This judgement may be given of him, that by nature he had a malicious and a revenging mind: yet notwithstanding he qualified that natural bitterness with reason, giving place to necessity, and his benefit. For in this war of the confederates, his soldiers slew Albinus one of his lieutenants, beating him to death with staves and stones, being a man of good quality and one that had been Prætor. This great offence he passed over with silence, using no manner of punishment, and turned it to a boast in the end,

Sulla strange of conditions

Sulla's wives

saying That his men were the more obedient and diligent in any piece of service that was to be done, and that he made them amend their faults by worthy service. And furthermore, he did not regard them that did reprove him: but having determined with himself to destroy Marius, and to procure that he might be chosen general in the wars against King Mithridates, because that this war of the confederates was now ended: for this cause he flattered and curried favour with his soldiers that served under him. At his return to Rome from these wars of the confederates, he was chosen Consul with Q. Pompeius, being then fifty years old, and married with Cæcilia a noble lady, and Metellus' daughter, who was then chief Bishop of Rome, for which marriage the common people sang songs and ballads up and down Rome against him: and many of the noble men envied him for it, thinking him unworthy of so noble a lady, whom they thought worthy to be Consul, as Titus Livius saith. Now she was not his only wife, for he had a young wife before called Ilia, by whom he had a daughter. After he had married Ælia, then a third called Cælia, whom he put away because she brought him no children. But notwithstanding she went honourably away from him with very good words of her, besides many other goodly rich gifts he gave her: howbeit shortly after he married Metella, which made the world suspect that Cælia was put away for her naughtiness. Howsoever it was, Sulla did ever honour and love Metella: insomuch as the people of Rome afterwards making suit, that they that were banished for Marius' faction might be called home again: and being denied, and re-

fused by Sulla, they cried out with open voice for Metella, praying her to help them to obtain their request. And it seemeth also that when he had taken the city of Athens, he dealt more cruelly with them, because that some of them had scoffed at Metella from the walls: howbeit that was afterwards. So Sulla making his reckoning at that time that the Consulship was a small matter, in comparison of that which he looked for in time to come: was marvellous desirous to go against Mithridates. But therein Marius also, of a mad furious ambition and covetousness of glory, stood against him, and sued to go that journey in like manner, being subject to those passions, which never wax old, as we may daily see by experience. For being now a heavy man, sickly of body, and broken in service abroad in the wars, from the which he came but newly home, and bruised moreover with age: did notwithstanding yet aspire to have the charge of the wars so far off beyond the seas. Wherefore to obtain his purpose, whilst Sulla was gone a little unto the camp to give order for certain things that were to be done, he remaining in the city, did practice this pestilent mortal sedition, which alone did more hurt unto the city of Rome, than all the enemies that Rome ever had: the which the gods themselves had foreshewed by many signs and tokens. For fire took of itself in the staves of the ensigns, which they had much ado to quench. Three ravens brought their young ones into the highway, and did eat them up in the sight of many people, and afterwards carried the garbage they left of them into their nests. Rats also having gnawn some jewels of gold in a church, the sextens setting

Wonderful signs seen before the civil war

The Tuscans' opinion of the eight worlds

a trap for them, a rat was taken full of young, and kendled five young rats in the trap, of the which she ate up three. But more yet, on a fair bright day when there was no cloud seen in the element at all, men heard such a sharp sound of a trumpet, that they were almost all out of their wits, for fear of so great a noise. Whereupon the wise men and soothsayers of Tuscany being asked their opinions, answered: That this so strange and wonderful sign did foreshew the change of the world, and the departure out of this into another life. For they hold opinion, that there should be eight worlds, all contrary one unto another, in manners and fashions of life: unto every one of the which said they, God hath determined a certain time of continuance: but that they should all end their course within the space of the revolution of the great year: and that when the one is ended, and the other ready to begin, there shall appear such strange signs on the earth, or in the element. So that such as have studied that science, do certainly know, as soon as men be born, which are mere contrary unto the first in their lives and manners, and which are either more or less acceptable unto the gods, than those which lived in former age. For they say, that amongst great changes and alterations which are done in those places from one age unto another, the science of divination, and foretelling of things to come doth grow in reputation, and meeteth in their predictions, when it pleaseth God to send most certain and manifest signs, to know and foretell things to come. And in contrariwise also in another age it groweth to contempt, and loseth her reputation, for that it is very rash, and faileth

to meet with the most part of her predictions, because she hath but obscure means, and all her instruments defaced, to know what should come. And these be the fables which the wisest soothsayers of Tuscany reported abroad, and they specially who seemed to have some singular speculation above others. But as the Senate were talking with the soothsayers of these wonders, being assembled together within the temple of the goddess Bellona, a sparrow came flying into the church in sight of them all, and carried a grasshopper in her bill, and parted it in the middest, and left one part within the temple, and carried the other away with her. Whereupon the wise men and interpreters of such wonders, said, That they doubted a commotion and rising of the country men against the commons of the city, because the common people of the city do cry out continually like grasshoppers, and the husbandmen do keep themselves upon their lands in the country. Thus Marius grew great and very familiar with Sulpicius, one of the Tribunes of the people, who in all kinds of wickedness and mischief that a man can reckon, would give place to no living creature: so that a man need not to seek or demand anywhere for a worse than he, but the question is rather wherein he himself was not the worst of all others. For he was full repleat with all kinds of cruelty, avarice, and rashness, and that so extremely, as he cared not what villainy and wickedness he openly committed, so that the same might turn to his profit. For he had set up a table in the open market-place, where he sold freedom, making slaves and strangers denizens of Rome for their money: and for that

The wickedness of Sulpicius the tribune

Marius and Sulpicius' sedition

purpose he entertained a guard of three thousand about him, besides a band of young gentlemen of the order of knights that attended always upon his person ready at his commandment, whom he called the guard against the Senate. And furthermore, himself having passed a law by the voice of the people, that no Senator should borrow nor owe above two thousand drachmas: it was found that at the hour of his death, he died three millions of drachmas in debt. This man now like a furious raging beast, being left by Marius amongst the people, turned all things topsy-turvy, by force of arms and main strength. He made also many wicked laws to pass by voice of the people, and amongst others, that one specially, whereby he gave Marius commission to make wars against King Mithridates. For which extreme oppressions and dealings of Sulpicius, the two Consuls (Sulla and Quintus Pompeius) left off to hear public causes, and ceased the common course of law and justice. And as they were one day occupied about the adjournment of the law, in an open assembly in the market-place, before the temple of Castor and Pollux: Sulpicius the Tribune came upon them with his soldiers, and slew many people, and among others, the Consul Pompeius' own son, and the father himself being Consul, had much ado to save his life by flying. And Sulla the other Consul, was also pursued even into Marius' house, where he was compelled to promise before his departure, presently to go and revoke the adjournment of the law which he had before commanded. Thus Sulpicius having deprived Pompeius of his Consulship, did not depose Sulla, but only took

from him the charge he had given him to make wars against Mithridates, and transferred that unto Marius. And sending colonels to the city of Nola to receive the army that lay there, and to bring them unto Marius, Sulla prevented them, and fled to the camp before them, and told the soldiers all what had passed, as it was indeed: who when they heard it, fell all to a tumult, and slew Marius' colonels with stones. Marius on the other side put all Sulla's friends to death at Rome, and took the spoil of their goods and houses: so was there nothing else but flying from the camp to Rome, and from Rome to the camp again. The Senate were in manner beside themselves, not being able to govern as they would, but driven to obey Marius and Sulpicius' commandments. Who being advertised that Sulla was coming towards Rome, sent straight two Prætors unto him, Brutus and Servilius, to command him as from the Senate, to approach no nearer. These two Prætors spake a little too boldly unto Sulla: whereupon the soldiers fell to a mutiny, in such sort, that they stood indifferent whether to kill them presently in the field or no: howbeit they brake their axes and bundles of rods which were carried before them, and took their purple robes wherewith they were apparelled as magistrates, from them, and sent them home thus shamefully handled and intreated. Upon their return now to Rome, their sad silence only, and themselves so stripped besides of all their marks and tokens of Prætorial dignity, made all men then to judge that they brought no other news, but such as were the worst that possibly could be: and that there was no way then left to pacify this sedition,

All law ceased for a time

Sulla marcheth towards Rome

which was now altogether uncurable. Wherefore Marius and his followers began to make himself strong by force: and Sulla with his companion Q. Pompeius, departed in the meantime from the city of Nola, and brought six entire legions on with him, who desired no other thing but to make haste to march to Romeward. Howbeit Sulla stood in doubt with himself what to do, thinking of the great danger that might follow. Until such time as his soothsayer Postumius having considered the signs and tokens of the sacrifices, which Sulla had made upon this determination, gave him both his hands, and bade him bind them hard, and shut him up fast, until the day of battell should be past: saying, That he was contented to suffer death, if he had not good success, and that out of hand, to his great honour. And it is said also, that the same night there appeared unto Sulla in a dream the goddess Bellona, whom the Romans do greatly honour, following therein the Cappadocians: and I know not whether it be the moon, Minerva, or Enyo the goddess of battels. So he thought, that she coming to him did put lightning into his hand, commanding him that he should lighten upon his enemies, naming them one after another by their proper names: and that they being stricken with his lightning, fell down dead before him, and no man knew what became of them. This vision encouraged Sulla very much, and having reported the same to Pompeius, his fellow Consul and companion, the next morning he marched with his army to Rome. When he was at Picinæ, there came other ambassadors unto him, to pray him in the name of the Senate that he would not come to

Rome in this heat and fury, declaring therewithal that the Senate would grant him all things that should be meet and reasonable. When Sulla had heard the message, he answered them, that he would camp there: and so commanded the marshals to divide the squadrons according to their manner. The ambassadors believing that he would so have done indeed, returned again to Rome: howbeit their backs were no sooner turned, but Sulla straight sent Lucius Basillus, and Caius Mummius before to seize one of the gates of Rome, and the walls which were on the side of Mount Esquiline, and he himself also in person with all possible speed marched after them. Basillus entered Rome, and wan the gate by force. But the common people unarmed, got them up straight to the top of their houses, and with tiles and stones stayed and kept him, not only for entering any farther: but also drave him back again, even to the very walls of the city. In this hurly-burly came Sulla himself to Rome, who seeing apparently in what state things stood, cried out to his men, and bade them set fire on the houses: and himself taking a torchlight in his hand shewed them the way what they should do, appointing his archers and darters to hurl and bestow their darts, and other fiery instruments, to the tops of the houses. Herein he was too much overcome with unreasonable choler, passion, and desire of revenge. For seeking only to plague his enemies, he took no regard to friends, to parents or confederates, neither had he yet any manner of remorse or pity: such and so fiery was his anger then, that he put no kind of difference between those that had offended, and them that had done

Sulla set the houses on fire in Rome

The ingratitude of Sulla reproved

him no hurt at all. By this means was Marius driven into the city, unto the temple of the Earth, where he made open proclamation by sound of trumpet, that he would make free all the slaves that would come to his part. But forthwith came his enemies, set upon him, and pressed him so near, that he was constrained utterly to fly and forsake the city. Then Sulla assembling the Senate, caused Marius, and certain others, together with Sulpicius Tribune of the people, to be condemned to death. Sulpicius was betrayed by a slave of his own, whom Sulla made free according to his promise passed by publick edict: but when he had made him free, he caused him to be thrown down headlong from the rock Tarpeian. And not contented with this, he proclaimed by promise a great sum of money to him that would kill Marius: a very ingrate and unthankful part, considering that Marius not many days before having Sulla in his own house, in his hands and custody, delivered him from peril, and set him in safety. Which if at that time he had not done, but had suffered Sulpicius to have slain him: himself had been sovereign lord of the whole without any contradiction, and might have ruled all things at his own will and pleasure. But Sulla shortly after upon the like advantage, used no such manner of requital or gravity towards him, which bred a secret misliking amongst the Senate: howbeit the common people made open show of the evil will they bare unto Sulla, by rejecting one Nonius his nephew, and one Servius, who upon confidence of his favour, presented themselves to sue for certain offices. And besides the shame of this refusal, to spite him the

more, they chose others in their steads, whose honour and preferment they right well knew that Sulla would not only mislike, but be much offended withal. Howbeit he wisely dissembling the matter, seemed to be very glad, saying that by his means the people of Rome enjoyed a full and perfect liberty, that in such cases of election they might freely do what themselves listed. And to mitigate somewhat the people's ill-will towards him, he determined to choose Lucius Cinna Consul, who was of a contrary faction to him: having first bound him by solemn oath and curse to favour his doings and whole proceedings. Whereupon Cinna went up to the Capitol, and there holding a stone in his hand, did solemnly swear and promise, that he would be Sulla's faithful friend: beseeching the gods if he did the contrary, that he might be thrown out of Rome, even as he threw that stone out of his hand: and with those words, threw it to the ground before many people. But notwithstanding all these curses, Cinna was no sooner entered into his consulship, but presently he began to change and alter all. For amongst other things, he would needs have Sulla accused: and procured Verginius, one of the Tribunes of the people, to be his accuser. But Sulla left him with his judges, and went to make wars against Mithridates. And it is said, that about the time that Sulla took ship, and departed out of Italy: there fortuned many tokens and warnings of the gods unto King Mithridates, who was at that present in the city of Pergamus, as amongst others, that the Pergamenians to honour Mithridates withal, having made an image of Victory, carrying a garland of triumph in her hand,

Lucius Cinna Consul

Mithridates' power

which was let down from aloft with engines: so soon as she was ready to put the garland upon his head, the image broke, and the crown fell to the ground in the midst of the theatre, and burst all to pieces. Whereby all the people that were present, were stricken with a marvellous fear, and Mithridates himself began to mislike this evil luck: although all things at that time fell out more fortunately, than he looked for. For he had taken Asia from the Romans, and Bithynia and Cappadocia, from the kings which he had driven out: and at that time remained in the city of Pergamus, to divide the riches and great territories among his friends. As touching his sons: the eldest was of the realm of Pontus, and of Bosphorus, which he inherited from his predecessors, even unto the deserts beyond the marishes of Mæotis, without trouble or molestation of any man. The other also, Ariarathes, was with a great army in conquering of Thracia, and Macedon. His captains and lieutenants moreover, did many notable conquests in divers places, with a great power: amongst the which, Archelaus being lord and maister of all the sea, for the great number of ships he had, conquered the Isles Cyclades, and all those beyond the head of Malea, and specially amongst others the Isle of Eubœa. And beginning at the city of Athens, had made all the nations of Greece to rebel, even unto Thessaly, saving that he received some loss by the city of Chæronea. Where Bruttius Sura, one of the lieutenants of Sentius governor of Macedon (a man of great wisdom and valiantness) came against him, and stayed him for going any further, overrunning the whole country of Bœotia like a furious raging river. And

setting upon Archelaus by the city of Chæronea, overthrew him in three several battels: repulsed, and enforced him to take the seas again. But as Bruttius was following him in chase, Lucius Lucullus sent him commandment to give place unto Sulla, to follow those wars against Mithridates, according to the charge and commission in that behalf given him. Whereupon Bruttius Sura went out of the country of Bœotia, and returned towards his general Sentius: notwithstanding his affairs prospered better than he could have wished, and that all Greece were very willing to revolt, for the reputation of his wisdom and goodness. Howbeit the things that we before have spoken of, were the most notable matters that Bruttius did in those parts. Sulla now upon his arrival, recovered immediately all the other cities of Greece: who being advertised of his coming, sent presently to pray him to come to their aid, the city of Athens only excepted, which was compelled by the tyrant Aristion, to take part with Mithridates. Sulla thereupon with all his power went thither, besieged the haven of Piræus round, causing it to be battered and assaulted on every side, with all sorts of engines and instruments of battery: whereas if he could have had patience but a little longer, he might have had the high town by famine, without putting himself in any manner of danger, the same being brought to such extreme dearth and scarcity of all kind of victuals. But the haste that he made to return again to Rome, for fear of the new change which he heard of daily from thence, compelled him to hazard this war in that sort with great danger, many battells, and infinite charge: considering also, that besides all other pro-

Sulla besiegeth the city of Athens

Sulla took the jewels and money out of the temples

vision and furniture, he had twenty thousand mules and mulets labouring daily to furnish his engines of battery. And when all other wood failed him, because his engines were oftentimes marred after they were made, some breaking of themselves by reason of their weight, others consumed with fire thrown from the enemies: at the length he fell to the holy wood, and cut down the trees of the Academia, being better stored and furnished, than any other park of pleasure in all the suburbs of the city, and felled down all the wood of the park Lycæum. And standing in need of a great sum of money to entertain this war withal, he dealt also with the holiest temples of all Greece, causing them to bring him from the temples of Epidaurus and Olympia, all the richest and most precious jewels they had. He wrote moreover unto the Council of the Amphictyons holden in the city of Delphes, to bring him the ready money they had in the temple of Apollo, for that it should be kept in better safety with him, than if it still remained there: promising besides, that if he should by occasion be compelled to use it, he would restore as much again unto them: and for this purpose he sent Caphis Phocian, one of his very friends and familiars, and commanded him to weigh all that he took. So Caphis went unto Delphes: but when he came thither, being afraid to touch the holy things, in presence of the Council of the Amphictyons, he wept, that the tears ran down by his cheeks, as a man compelled to do such an act against his will. And when some that were present, told Caphis that they heard the sound of Apollo's cithern in the temple: whether he believed it was so indeed, or because he

would put this superstitious fear into Sulla's head, he wrote to him of it. But Sulla mocking him, sent him word, that he marvelled he could not consider, that singing and playing on the cithern, were tokens rather of joy than of anger: and therefore that he should not fail to proceed farther, and bring him those things which he commanded, for that (said he) Apollo did give them him. Now for the other jewels of the temple of Apollo, the common people knew not that they were sent unto Sulla: but the silver tun, which only was that that remained of the offerings of the kings, the Amphictyons were fain to break that in pieces, because it was so great and massy, that the beasts of draught could not draw it whole as it was. This act made them to remember the other ancient Roman captains, as Flamininus, Manius Acilius, and Paulus Æmilius: of the which, the one having driven King Antiochus out of Greece, and the rest also having overthrown the kings of Macedon, they never once touched the gold and silver of the temples of Greece: but contrarily sent their offerings thither, and had them all in great honour and reverence. But as to them, they were all captains lawfully chosen and sent to their charges: their soldiers well trained and obedient at commandment, void of rebellion, or any manner of mutiny. And for themselves, were kings in greatness of courage and magnanimity of mind: but in expense of their persons, very spare and scant, without any lavish, but needful and necessary, proportioned by reason, and thinking more shame to flatter their soldiers, than fear their enemies. Now the captains contrarily in Sulla's time, sought not their preferment

Caphis superstition for touching the holy things

Sulla's overmuch liberty and sufferance to the soldiers

in the common wealth by vertue, but by force: and having greater wars one with another, than with strangers their enemies, were compelled to flatter their soldiers whom they should command, and to buy their pains and service, feeding them still with large and great expenses, to please and content them. Wherein they did not consider, that they brought their country into bondage, and made themselves slaves of the vilest people of the world, whilst that in the meantime they sought to command by all means possible those, which in many respects were far better than themselves. And this was the cause that both drave Marius out of Rome, and made him also to return again against Sulla. This self same cause made Cinna to kill Octavius, and Fimbria to slay Flaccus: of which evils Sulla was the very first and only author, spending out of all reason, and giving the soldiers largely that served under him, to win their good-wills the more, and thereby also to allure them. By reason whereof, Sulla had need of mountains of money, and specially at the siege where he was: both to make strangers traitors, and besides, to furnish and satisfy his own dissolute soldiers. For he had such an earnest desire to take the city of Athens, that he could not possibly be dissuaded from it. And either it was of a certain vain ambition he had to fight against the ancient reputation of that city, being then but a shadow to that it had been: or else of a very anger, for the mocks and gibes which the tyrant Aristion gave in his speeches from the walls, against him and Metella, to spite him the more withal. This tyrant Aristion was full of all cruelty and wickedness, having taken up all the worst qualities and greatest imperfections of King Mithridates, and heaped them

wholly together in himself: by reason whereof the poor city of Athens which had escaped from so many wars, tyrannies, and civil dissensions until that present time, was by him, as by an incurable disease, brought unto all extremity. For a bushel of wheat was worth a thousand drachmas, and men were driven for famine to eat feverfew that grew about the castle: and they caused old shoes and old oil-pots to be sodden, to deliver some savour unto that they did eat, whilst the tyrant himself did nothing all day long but cram in meat, and drink dronk, dance, mask, scoff and flout at the enemies, suffering the holy lamp of Minerva in the mean season to go out for lack of oil. And when the nun of the same temple sent unto him for a quarter of a bushel of wheat, he sent her a quarter of a bushel of pepper. And when the councillors of the city, the priests and religious came to the castle, holding up their hands, and beseeching him to take some pity of the city, and fall to composition with Sulla: he made them to be driven away and scattered with slings. In the end, very late, and yet with great ado, he sent two or three of his quaffing companions unto Sulla, who when they were come to him, made no demand of composition for the town, but began to praise and magnify the deeds of Theseus, of Eumolpus, and of the Athenians against the Medes. Whereupon Sulla made them this answer. My goodly orators, return you again with all your rhetorick: for the Romans sent me not hither to learn nor to study, but to overcome and conquer those that are rebelled against them. In the mean-time there were certain spies in the city that heard old men talking together in a place called Cerami-

The wickedness of the tyrant Aristion

Athens taken by Sulla

cus, blaming the tyrant because he kept no better watch on that side of the wall that was directly over against the Heptachalcon, which was the only place where the enemies might easiest get up upon the walls. Those spies went straight unto Sulla, and told him what they had heard the old men say. Sulla tracted no time, but came to the place in the night to see it: and perceiving that it was to be taken, set the matter straight abroach. And himself writes in his Commentaries, that the first man that scaled the walls, was Marcus Teius: who finding a soldier ready to resist him, gave him such a sore blow with his sword upon his headpiece, that his sword brake in two, and yet notwithstanding that he saw himself naked and disarmed of a sword, did not for all that give back, but stood still to it, and kept the place so long till through him the city was taken, and all upon the talk of these old men. So Sulla caused the wall to be pulled down between the haven of Piræus, and the holy haven: and having before made the breach very plain, entered into the city about midnight with a wonderful fearful order, making a marvellous noise with a number of horns, and sounding of trumpets, and all his army with him in order of battell, crying, To the sack, to the sack: Kill, kill. For he had given them the town in spoil, and to put all to the sword. The soldiers therefore ran through the streets with their swords drawn, making an uncredible slaughter: so that to this day they be not acknown, nor do not declare what number of persons were slain, but to shew the greatness of the murder that there was committed, the place is yet extant to be seen where the blood

ran. For besides them that were slain through all the city, the blood of them only that were slain in the market stead, did wet all the ground of Ceramicus, even unto the very place called Dipylon: and some say also, that it ran by the gates into the suburbs of the city. But if the multitude of the people that were slain in this sort were great, much more (or so many at the least) it is said were those that slew themselves, for the sorrow and compassion they had to see their country in such pitiful state, supposing certainly that their city was now come to utter ruin and destruction. This opinion made the noblest men of the city to despair of their own safety, and feared to live any longer, because they thought they should find no mercy, no moderation of cruelty in Sulla. Notwithstanding, partly at the requests of Midias and Calliphon, who were banished men from Athens, and fell at Sulla's feet upon their knees: and partly also at the requests of the Roman Senators that were in his camp, who prayed him to pardon the body of the city, and the rather for that he had already quenched the thirst of his ravening mind sufficiently well, after that he had somewhat said in praise of the ancient Athenians, he concluded in the end, to give the greater number unto the smaller, and the living to the dead. Sulla writeth himself in his Commentaries, that he took the city of Athens on the very self day of the calends of March, which cometh to agree with the first day of the moneth that we call Anthesterion, on the which day by chance many things are done at Athens in memory of Noah's flood, and of the universal destruction of the whole world that was

The slaughte of the Athenians

Aristion the tyrant yielded

in old time by rage of waters, falling out even in that very month. When the city was thus taken, the tyrant Aristion fled into the castle, where he was besieged by Curio, whom Sulla left there of purpose about that matter. And after he had a great time kept it, at the last, constrained thereunto for lack of water, he yielded. The castle was no sooner given up, but immediately by God's providence, the weather miraculously altered. For the self same day, and at the very self instant that Curio carried the tyrant Aristion out of the castle, the element being very fair and clear, the clouds suddenly gathered together, and there fell such a marvellous glut of rain, that all the castell was full of water. Shortly after also, Sulla having gotten the haven of Piræus, burnt the greatest part of the buildings: amongst others was the arsenal and armoury, which Philo in old time had caused to be built, being of a strange and wonderful edifice. In the meantime, Taxiles, one of the lieutenants of King Mithridates, coming from Thrace and Macedon, with a hundred thousand footmen, ten thousand horsemen, and fourscore and ten thousand carts of war all armed with scythes: sent unto Archelaus to join with him, lying yet at anker in the haven of Munychia, and not willing to leave the sea, nor come to fight with the Romans, but seeking rather to draw these wars out in length, and to cut off all victuals from his enemies. Sulla understanding this drift better than himself, departed out of the country of Attica (a very barren soil, and indeed not able to keep him in time of peace) and went into Bœotia: wherein most men thought he committed great error to leave Attica,

which is a very hard country for horsemen, and to go into Bœotia, a plain champion: and so much the rather, because he knew well enough that the chiefest strength of the barbarous people consisted in their horsemen, and their armed carts with scythes. But to avoid famine, and lack of victuals as we have said, he was compelled to seek battell. Furthermore, he had another cause also that made him afraid, and compelled him to go: and that was Hortensius a famous Captain, and very valiant also, who brought him aid out of Thessaly, and the barbarous people lay in wait for him in his way, in the strait of Thermopylæ. And these were the causes that made Sulla take his way into Bœotia. But in the meantime, Caphis that was our countryman, deceiving the barbarous people, guided Hortensius another way by Mount Parnassus, and brought him under the city of Tithora, which was not then so great a city as now at this present it is, but was a castle only, situated upon the point of a rock, hewn all about: whither the Phocians in old time flying King Xerxes coming upon them, retired themselves for their safety. Hortensius lodged there, and there did also both defend and repulse his enemies, so long as daylight lasted: and when the night came on, got down through very hard stony ways, unto the city of Patronis, where he joined with Sulla, who came to meet him with all his power. Thus being joined together, they camped upon a hill that standeth about the midst of the plain of Elatea: the soil was very good, and well replenished with great store of trees and water at the foot of the same. The hill is called Philobœotus, the nature and situation whereof,

Sulla and Hortensius met

The brave armour and furniture of the Thracians and Macedonians

Sulla doth marvellously commend. When they were camped, they seemed but a handful in the eye of their enemies: and no more were they indeed, for they had not above fifteen hundred horse, and less than fifteen thousand footmen. Whereupon the other captains their enemies, against Archelaus' mind, brought out their bands into the field, and filled all the valley and plain thereabouts with horsemen, with carts, with shields and targets, so that the air was even cut asunder as it were with the violence of the noise and cries of so many sundry nations, which altogether did put themselves in battell ray. The sumptuousness of their furniture moreover, was not altogether superfluous and unprofitable, but served greatly to fear the beholders. For the glittering of their harness, so richly trimmed and set forth with gold and silver, the colours of their arming coats upon their curaces, after the fashion of the Medes and Scythians, mingled with the bright glistering steel and shining copper, gave such a shew as they went and removed to and fro, that made a light as clear as if all had been on a very fire, a fearful thing to look upon. Insomuch as the Romans durst not so much as once go out of the trenches of their camp, nor Sulla with all his persuasion could take away this great conceived fear from them: wherefore, (and because also he would not compel them to go forth in this fear) he was driven not to stir, but close to abide (though it grieved him greatly) to see the barbarous people so proudly and villainously laugh him and his men to scorn. Howbeit the disdain and scoffing of his enemies, stood him to great good purpose afterwards. For they making now none

account of him, kept small watch and ward, strayed up and down disorderly besides, though otherwise they were not very obedient unto their captaines, being many commanders, and few good followers: by reason whereof, a small number kept in the camp, and all the rest of the great multitude entised with the gain they made by spoiling and sacking of towns thereabouts, dispersed themselves many days' journey from their camp. For it is said, that at that very time they destroyed the city of Panope, sacked the city of Lebadea, and spoiled the temple without commandment or licence of any of all their captains to do it. In the meanwhile, Sulla seeing so many cities and towns spoiled and destroyed, took it both grievously, and also angrily: howbeit he suffered not his men to lie idly, but kept them in labour, to turn the course of the river of Cephissus, and to cast great trenches, not suffering any man to take ease or rest, but contrarily with great severity punished such as went faintly and lazily to work, to the end that being wearied with the pain they took after so many works, they would rather prove to hazard battell, as it fell out indeed. For the third day after they had begun thus to labour, as Sulla passed by them, they cried out unto him to lead them against their enemies. But his answer was unto them again: That those were but cries of men wearied rather with labour, than desirous to fight. Notwithstanding, if it be so indeed, and that you have so good a will to fight as you make shew of: then I will, said he, that you arm yourselves presently, and get you to yonder place, shewing them therewithal where the castle of the Parapotamians

Sulla's straightness to his soldiers

Sulla sendeth a legion to aid Chæronea

stood in old time, which then (the city being destroyed) was no more but the top of a stony mountain cut all about, and severed from the mount of Hedylium by the breadth of the river of Assus that runneth betwixt, and which at the very foot of the same mountain falleth into the river of Cephissus, and both these rivers running in one, carrying a swift stream, do make the knapp of the said hill very strong of situation to lodge a camp upon. And therefore Sulla seeing the soldiers of his enemies camp, marching with their copper targets to take up that place to lodge in: to prevent them, and to get it before them (as indeed he did) he marched thither in all haste possible, and got it even with the earnest good-will of all his soldiers. Archelaus being so repulsed from thence, turned his way towards the city of Chæronea. Whereupon certain of the Chæroneans that were in Sulla's camp, besought him that he would not forsake their city, and leave it to their enemy. Sulla desiring to gratify them therein, sent one of his colonels Gabinius with a legion, and therewithal gave the Chæroneans leave to go thither, who did what they could possible to get into the city before Gabinius: but that they could not, such was the diligence and honesty of the man, as he seemed more desirous of their safety, than they were themselves. Nevertheless, Juba doth not call the colonel that was sent thither Gabinius, but Hirtius. And thus was our city of Chæronea preserved from the danger it stood in at that time. In the meantime came very good news to the Romans, both of oracles and prophecies, which promised them victory from the temple of

Lebadea, and the cave of Trophonius: of which prophecies, those countrymen make great mention. But Sulla in his tenth book of his Commentaries writeth, that Quintus Titius, a man of quality and name amongst them that trafficked into the country of Greece, came unto him after he had won the battell of Chæronea, to tell him that Trophonius gave him to understand, that shortly after he should have a second battell, and that he should yet again have another victory in the same place. After him another man of war called Salvenius, told him also what success he should have in the wars of Italy, saying, that he knew it by revelation: and both these men agreed in the manner of the revelation. For they said, that they had seen a god, in majesty, beauty, and greatness, like unto the image of Jupiter Olympius. Sulla having passed the river of Assus, went to lodge at the foot of Mount Hedylium, hard by Archelaus, who had placed and fortified his camp between the two mountains of Acontium, and of Hedylium, joining to the city of the Assians. The place where Archelaus camped, beareth his own name Archelaus unto this day. One day after Sulla had changed his lodging, he left Muræna in his camp with a legion, and two cohorts, to keep the enemies still occupied that were in great trouble, and he himself in the meantime went and sacrificed by the river of Cephissus. His sacrifice being ended, he marched towards the city of Chæronea, to take the force he had there under Gabinius, and to know the mountain also called Thurium, which the enemies had taken. It is a knap of a mountain very steep and sharp of all

Oracles and prophecies of victory unto Sulla

The founder of the city of Chæronea

sides, with a narrow point like a pine-apple, by reason whereof we do call it Orthopagum. At the foot of the same runneth the river called Morion, and there is also the temple of Apollo surnamed Thurian: and they say that this surname of Thurian was given unto him of the name of Thuro, who was mother of Chæron, the founder and builder of the city of Chæronea. Other think that the cow which was given to Cadmus for a guide, came to him in that place: which hath ever since kept the name, for that the Phœnicians call a cow, Thor. Now when Sulla came near unto Chæronea, the Colonel Gabinius whom he had sent thither with a garrison to defend the same, went to meet him with his men very well armed, wearing a laurel garland: and Sulla after he had saluted him, and his soldiers, made an oration unto them, exhorting them to do their duty in fighting. And as he was in his oration, there came two citizens of Chæronea to him, one his name was Homoloïchus, and the other Anaxidamus, who promised him to drive the enemies from Mount Thurium which they had taken, if he would but give them some small number of soldiers. For there was a little pathway, which the barbarous people mistrusted not, beginning at a place called Petrachus, hard by the temple of the Muses, by the which they might easily go to the top of this mountain Thurium: so that following that path, it would bring them over the barbarous people's heads, and they might easily kill them with stones, or at the least they should drive them maugre their heads, down into the valley. Gabinius assuring Sulla that they were both very

valiant men, and such as he might boldly trust unto, Sulla gave them men, and commanded them to execute their enterprise: and he himself in the mean season went and set his men in order of battell in the plain, dividing his horsemen on the wings, placed himself in the right wing, appointing the left unto Muræna. Galba and Hortensius his lieutenants were placed in the tail with certain bands of the rear guard which they kept upon the hills, to watch and let that the enemies should not enclose them behind: because they perceived afar off that the enemies put forth a great number of horsemen and footmen light armed in the wings, to the end that the points of their battell might the more easily bow and enlarge themselves, to compass in the Romans on the back side. Now in the meantime, these two Chæroneans whom Sulla had sent under Hirtius their captain, having compassed about the mountain Thurium, before the enemies were aware of them, sodainly came to shew themselves upon the top of the mountain: which did so fear the barbarous people, that they began immediately to fly, one of them for the most part killing another. There was no resistance, but flying down the mountain, fell upon the points of their own partisans and pikes, and one of them thrusting in another's neck, tumbled headlong down the mountain together, having their enemies besides on their backs, which drave them from the hill, and strake them behind where they lay open unto them: so as they were slain a three thousand of them about this mountain Thurium. And as for them that sought to save themselves by flight, Muræna that was already set in battell ray, met with some, cut them

Sulla ordereth his battell

Sulla's conflict with Archelaus

off by the way, and slew them downright. The other fled directly to their camp, and came in great companies, thrusting into the battell of their footmen, put the most part of them quite out of order, and marvellously troubled their captains before they could set them again in order: which was one of the chiefest causes of their overthrow. For Sulla went and gave a charge upon them in this trouble and disorder, and had quickly won the ground that was between both armies, whereby he took away the force of all their armed carts with scythes, which are then of greatest force, when they have the longest course, to give them a swift and violent stroke in their chase: whereas when their course is but short, the blow is so much the weaker and of less strength, even as arrows are that afar off enter not deep into the thing they be shot at: as at that time it fell out with the barbarous people. For their first carts set forth so faintly, and came on with so feeble a force, that the Romans sent them back, and easily repulsed them, with great slaughter and clapping of hands one to another, as they commonly use in the ordinary games of horse-running at Rome. When they had thus repulsed the carts, the battell of Sulla's footmen began to charge the barbarous people, who basing their pikes, stood close one to another because they would not be broken: and the Romans on the other side bestowed first their darts among them, and then sodainly drew out their swords in the heat they were in, and put aside the enemies' pikes, whereby they might come nearer to their bodies. There were fifteen thousand slaves in the front of the battell of the barbarous people, whom Mithridates' lieutenant had made free by open pro-

clamation, and had divided them by bands amongst the other footmen. By occasion whereof there was a Roman centurion spake pleasantly at that time, saying, That he never saw slaves before have liberty to speak and do like free men, but only at Saturn's feasts. Nevertheless, they against the nature of slaves, were very valiant to abide the shock, and the Roman footmen could not so readily break nor enter into them, nor make them give back, because they stood very close one to another, and their ranks were of such a length besides: until such time as the Romans that were behind the first ranks, did so pelt them with their slings, hurling stones, bestowing their darts and arrows upon them, that in the end they compelled them all to turn their backs, and fly amain. And when Archelaus did first thrust out the right wing of his army, supposing to enclose the Romans behind: Hortensius straightways caused the bands he had with him to run and charge upon the flanks. Which Archelaus perceiving, made the horsemen he had about him turn their faces forthwith, which were in number above two thousand: insomuch as Hortensius being set upon with all his troop, was compelled to retire by little and little towards the mountain, perceiving himself far from the battell of his footmen, and environed round about with his enemies. Sulla seeing that, being in the right wing of his battell, and having not yet fought, went straight to the rescue of Hortensius. But Archelaus conjecturing by the dust which the horses raised, what the matter was: left Hortensius there, and with speed returned again towards the right wing of his enemies from whence Sulla was gone, hoping he had left it unfurnished of a sufficient

at Thurium

Sulla's victory of Mithridates' lieutenants

captain to command them. Taxiles on the other side, caused his copper targets also to march against Muræna: so as the noise they made on both sides, caused the mountains to ring again, wherewithal Sulla stayed, standing in doubt which way to take. At the last he resolved to return to the place from whence he came, and sent Hortensius with four ensigns to aid Muræna: and himself with the fifth in great speed went towards the right wing of his army, the which was now already bickering, and joined with their enemies, fighting hand to hand with Archelaus. By reason whereof, when Sulla was come with his aid, they did easily distress them: and after they had broken their array, they chased them flying for life to the river, and unto the mountain Acontium. But Sulla notwithstanding forgat not Muræna, but went again to his relief: and finding that he on his side had also put the enemies to flight, followed with him the chase of them that fled. There was a marvellous slaughter made in that field of the barbarous people, and many of them supposing to have recovered their camp, were slain by the way: so as of all that infinite multitude of fighting men, there escaped only ten thousand, who 'saved themselves by flying unto the city of Chalcis. Sulla for his part writeth, that he could make reckoning of no more but fourteen of his soldiers only that were slain, whereof there came two again to him the same night. Wherefore in the marks of triumph which he set up for tokens of that victory, he caused to be written on the top thereof, Mars, Victory, and Venus: signifying thereby, that he had overcome in these wars as much by good fortune, as by force, policy, or

martial discipline. These marks of triumph were set up for the battell which he wan in the plain field, in that place where Archelaus began to fly, even unto the river of Molus. And he set up another also in the top of Mount Thurium, where the barbarous people were set upon behind: and there is written in Greek letters, that the valiant deeds of Homoloïchus and Anaxidamus, gave way to the winning of this victory. Sulla for the joy of this great won battell, caused musicians to play in the city of Thebes, where he builded a stage for all the musicians, near unto the fountain Œdipus, and certain noble Grecians were appointed judges of that musick, whom he caused to be sent for out of other cities, because he mortally hated the Thebans: insomuch as he took from them half their lands, which he consecrated unto Apollo Pythius, and Jupiter Olympius, appointing that of the revenue thereof, they should redeliver and pay back the money which he had taken and carried away from out of their temples. Sulla after this having intelligence that Flaccus, one of his enemies, was chosen Consul at Rome, and had passed the sea Ionium with an army, under pretext to make war against King Mithridates, but indeed to make war with himself: took his journey toward Thessaly to meet him. But when he was in the city of Melitea, there came news to him out of all parts, that there was a new and second army of the king's arrived, no less than the first, the which spoiled and destroyed all the country which he had left behind him. For Dorylæus, one of King Mithridates' lieutenants, was arrived in the city of Chalcis with a great fleet of ships, having brought thither with him four score

The field was wor in the plain of Elatea

Dorylaus Mithridates' general against Sulla

thousand fighting men, the best trained, the best armed and appointed soldiers that were in all his kingdom of Pontus in Asia: and from thence went into Bœotia, had all that country at commandment, and sought to fight with Sulla, notwithstanding that Archelaus alleged many reasons to dissuade him from it: and furthermore, gave it out in every place, that so many thousands of soldiers could not have been cast away in the first battell, without some notable treason. Whereupon Sulla returned with all possible speed, and made Dorylaus know before many days passed over his head, that Archelaus was a wise man, and knew well enough the worthiness and valiant courage of the Romans. And Dorylaus having had but a little proof only in certain light skirmishes which he made against Sulla, about Tilphossion in Thessaly: himself was the first that could say then, it was not for them to hazard battell, but rather to draw out the wars in length, and supplant the Romans with charge and expense. And yet notwithstanding, the commodity of the great large plain that lieth all about Orchomen, where they were encamped, gave great encouragement to Archelaus, who judged it a very fit place to give battell in, specially because he was the stronger of horsemen in the field. For of all the plains that are within the country of Bœotia, the greatest and largest of them, is the plain near to the city of Orchomen, which is altogether without trees, and runneth out in length unto the marshes where the river of Melas disperseth it self abroad. The head of the same river is not far from the city of Orchomen, and that river only of all other rivers in Greece from the very head whence it cometh, is

navigable: and hath besides another singular property, that it riseth and swelleth even in the longest sommer days, as the river of Nilus doth, and bringeth forth the self same plants and trees, saving that they bear no fruit, neither are they so great as those of Egypt. This river hath no long course, because that the most part of the water runneth into lakes and marishes, covered with brambles and briars, and there is but a very little part of it that falleth into the river of Cephissus, in the place where the reeds grow that they make good flutes withal. When they were camped one near to another, Archelaus lay quietly and stirred not. But Sulla presently cast great trenches from one side to another, to stop the way against their enemies, that they could not come into that great plain where they might have taken what ground they would for their men of arms, and have driven the Romans into the marishes. The barbarous people not being able to endure that, so soon as their captains had given them liberty, discharged with such a fury, that they did not only scatter them that wrought in Sulla's trenches, but put the most part of their guard also that stood in battell ray to defend them, in a marvellous fear, who also began to fly. Which Sulla perceiving, lighted straight from his horse, and taking an ensign in his hand, ran through the midst of his men that fled, until he came to his enemies, and crying out, said unto them: O my Roman soldiers, mine honour commandeth me to die here, and therefore when any man asketh you where you forsook you captain, remember that you answer, It was at Orchomen. They were so ashamed at these words, that he

Sulla's words to animate his soldiers

Sulla's victory at Orchomen

made them turn: besides that, there came two cohorts unto him from the right wing of his battell, who under his leading gave such a hot charge upon their enemies, that they fled forthwith upon it. That done, Sulla retired with his men, and made them dine: and thereupon by and by set them again to the trenches to enclose his enemies camp, who then came out in better order than they did before. There was Diogenes, Archelaus' wive's son slain, fighting valiantly before them all in the right wing of their battell. And the bowmen being pressed so near by the Romans, that their bows would do no good: took their arrows in their hands instead of swords, and strake their enemies with them to force them to give back, until such time as at the last they were all driven into their camp, where they passed that night in great sorrow, as well for the loss of them that were slain, as also for the number of those that were hurt. The next morning, Sulla leading his men again towards the camp of his enemies, went on still continuing his trenches: and certain of them being come out to skirmish with them, he set upon them so lustily, that at the first charge he put them to flight. That brought such a fear to all the whole camp of the enemies, that not a man durst abide any longer: so as Sulla valiantly following on his victory, shuffled in among them as they fled, and in the end took all together. Straightway all the marishes were filled with blood, and the lake full of dead bodies: so that until this present day they find there in that place many bows of the barbarous people, morians, pieces of tasses, and swords drowned in the mud of the marshes, notwithstanding that it is well near two hundred

years ago since this battell was stricken. And thus much for the wars about the cities of Chæronea, and Orchomen. Now the wars being past in this sort in Greece, Cinna, and Carbo dealt very cruelly and unnaturally at Rome with the noblemen and great persons: by reason whereof, many flying their tyranny, went to Sulla's camp, as unto the haven of their health and fulness of felicity, so that in short time Sulla had an assembly of a Roman Senate about him. Metella her self, his wife, having stolen away very hardly with her children, came to bring him news that his houses in the city and country both, were all burnt and destroyed by his enemies: praying him that he would go and help them that yet remained at Rome. Sulla upon hearing of these news, fell in great perplexity. For on the one side, it grieved him to see his country so miserably afflicted: and on the other side, he knew not well how he might go, leaving so great an enterprise as that war was, and specially against a king of such might and power as Mithridates shewed himself to be. And being in these dumps, there came one Archelaus a merchant to him, born in the city of Delium, who brought him a secret message from the other Archelaus, King Mithridates' lieutenant: the which pleased Sulla so well, that he desired that Archelaus and himself might meet and talk together. So at the length they met by the seaside, near unto the city of Delium, where there is a temple of Apollo. Archelaus began to enter the talk with him, declaring unto Sulla that he would wish him to leave the conquest of Asia, and of the realm of Pont, and to return into his country to the civil wars at Rome: and in so doing, the king would furnish

Talk betwixt Sulla and Archelaus

Peace concluded betwixt Sulla and Archelaus

him, not only with as much money, but with as many ships and men, as he himself would desire. Sulla upon this motion told him again that he would wish him to forsake Mithridates' service, and to make himself king, offering to proclaim him a friend and confederate of the Romans, so that he would deliver him all his navy which then he had in his hands. Archelaus seemed much to abhor to hear him speak of treason. But Sulla going on with his tale, replied again unto him: Why, Archelaus, said he, thou that art a Cappadocian, and servant to a barbarous king, or his friend at the least: hast thou so good a heart with thee, that for all the benefits I offer thee, thou wilt not once commit an ill act? And art thou indeed so bold to speak to me of treason, which am the Romans' Lieutenant-General, and Sulla? As if thou wert not he, that at the battell of Chæronea didst save thy self by flying, with a small number left thee of six score thousand fighting men, which thou before hadst in thy camp: and that hid thy self two days together in the marishes of Orchomen, leaving the fields of Bœotia with such heaps of dead bodies, that no man could pass for them. After this reply, Archelaus altered his speech, and falling down at Sulla's feet, humbly besought him to end this war, and to make peace with Mithridates. Whereunto Sulla answered, That he was very well contented withal. And thereupon peace was concluded between them under conditions: that Mithridates should depart from Asia the less, and from Paphlagonia, that he should restore Bithynia unto Nicomedes, and Cappadocia unto Ariobarzanes: that he should pay two thousand talents to the Romans, and give them three score

and ten galleys, with all their furniture. And upon this, Sulla would also assure him the rest of his realm: and would cause him to be proclaimed a friend of the Romans. These articles being past by agreement betwixt them, Sulla taking his journey through Thessaly and Macedon into the country of Hellespont, carried Archelaus with him, whom he honourably entreated. For Archelaus falling dangerously sick of a disease in the city of Larissa, he stayed there for him, and was very careful to recover him, as if he had been one of his chiefest captains and companions. And this was the cause that made Archelaus to be blamed for the battell of Chæronea, as if he had not faithfully fought it out, nor Sulla truly won it, but by treason. And again, Archelaus was the more suspected, because Sulla redelivered Mithridates all his servants and friends which he had prisoners, saving the tyrant Aristion that kept Athens, whom he poisoned, because he was Archelaus' enemy: but specially, for the lands Sulla gave unto this Cappadocian. For he gave him ten thousand jugera, (or acres of land) within the Isle of Eubœa, and gave him moreover the title of a friend of the Romans for ever. But Sulla denieth all these things in his Commentaries. In the meantime, ambassadors came from King Mithridates unto Sulla, who told him that the king their master did ratify and accept all the articles of peace, saving that he only prayed him he would not take the country of Paphlagonia from him: and as for the galleys, he would not so much as once say he would promise them. Sulla being offended herewith, angrily answered them again: Then Mithridates, as ye say, meaneth to

Mithridates' exceptio to the conditions

Sulla and Mithridates meet at Dardan

keep Paphlagonia still, and refuseth to give the ships I demanded: where I looked that he would have humbly thanked me on his knees, if I left him his right hand only, with the which he put so many Roman citizens to death. But I hope to make him tell me another tale, if I come once into Asia: but now at Pergamum, he speaketh his pleasure of this war which he hath not seen. The ambassadors being afraid of his words, replied not again. Whereupon Archelaus spake, and besought him with tears in his eyes to be contented, and took him by the hand. By entreaty, in the end he obtained of Sulla to send him unto Mithridates: promising that he would either bring him to agree to all the articles and conditions of peace that he demanded, or if he could not, he would kill himself with his own hands. Upon this promise Sulla sent him away, and in the meanwhile entered with his army into the country of Media: and after he had destroyed the most part thereof, returned back again into Macedon, where Archelaus being returned from Mithridates, found him near unto the city of Philippi, bringing him news that all should be well, howbeit that his master Mithridates prayed him he might speak with him in any case. Now, the matter that made Mithridates so earnest to speak with Sulla, was chiefly for Fimbria: who having slain Flaccus the Consul, being of the contrary faction unto Sulla, and certain of Mithridates' lieutenants also, went himself against him to fight with him. Mithridates fearing his coming, chose rather to make himself Sulla's friend. So Mithridates and Sulla met together in the country of Troad, in the city of Dardan: Mithridates

being accompanied with a fleet of two hundred sail of ships with oars at sea, with twenty thousand footmen, six thousand horse, and a number of armed carts with scythes besides by land, Sulla having only but four ensigns of footmen, and two hundred horsemen. Mithridates went to Sulla, and offering to take him by the hand: Sulla asked him first, if he did accept the peace with the conditions which Archelaus had agreed unto. Mithridates made him no answer. Sulla following on his tale, said unto him. It is for suitors to speak first, that have request to make: and for conquerors, it is enough to hold their peace, and hear what they will say. Then began Mithridates to excuse himself, and to lay the occasion of the war, partly upon the ordinance of the gods that so had appointed it, and partly also upon the Romans themselves. Whereunto Sulla replied, that he had heard of long time that Mithridates was an eloquent prince, and that he knew it now by experience, seeing that he lacked no comely words, to cloke his foul and shameful deeds, but withal he sharply reproved him, and drove him to confess the cruelties he had committed. And afterwards asked him again, if he did confirm that which Archelaus had done. Mithridates made answer that he did. Then Sulla saluted, embraced, and kissed him, and calling for the kings Nicomedes, and Ariobarzanes, reconciled them together, and made Mithridates their friend again. In conclusion, after Mithridates had delivered Sulla threescore and ten galleys, and five hundred bowmen, he returned by sea into his realm of Pontus. But Sulla hearing that his soldiers were angry with this peace made

The stoutness of Sulla

Sulla very hardly entreated them of Asia

with Mithridates, because they could not abide to behold that king, whom they accounted for their most cruel and mortal enemy, (having in one self day caused a hundred and fifty thousand Roman citizens to be slain, that were dispersed abroad in divers places of Asia) so to depart, and go his way safe, with the riches and spoils of the country, which he had bereft them of, and used at his pleasure, the space of forty years together: answered them in excuse of himself, that he was not able to make wars with Mithridates, and Fimbria both, if once they were joined together against him. And so Sulla departing thence, went against Fimbria, who then was encamped near to the city of Thyatira, and lodged himself as near unto him as he conveniently might. Now whilst he was compassing in his lodging with a trench, Fimbria's soldiers came out of their camp in their coats without any armour or weapon, to salute Sulla's soldiers, and holp them very friendly to make up their trench. Which Fimbria seeing, and perceiving his soldiers' minds so changed, of an extreme fear which he had of Sulla, at whose hands he looked for no mercy; killed himself in his own camp. Sulla hereupon condemned the whole country of Asia the less, to pay the sum of twenty thousand talents amongst them, and presently also he undid many poor householders through his insolent soldiers, lying long upon their charge, which he left in garrison there. For he ordained that every householder should give the soldier that lodged in his house, four tetradrachmas a day, and should be bound to give him and his friends (as many as he would bring with him) their supper also: and that

every captain should have fifty drachmas a day, a night-gown for the house, and a garment to go abroad into the city when he thought good. When he had given this order, he departed from the city of Ephesus with all his fleet, and in three days' sailing arrived in the haven of Piræus at Athens, where he was received into the fraternity of the mysteries, and reserved for himself the library of Apellicon Teian: in the which were the most part of Aristotle and Theophrastus' works, not then thought meet to come in every man's hands. And they say, that this library being brought to Rome, Tyrannion the grammarian found the means to extract a great part of them: and that Andronicus the Rhodian having recovered the originals into his hands, published them, and wrote the summaries which we have at this present. For the ancient peripatetic philosophers were of themselves very wise and learned men, but they had not all Aristotle's works, nor Theophrastus amongst them, and yet those few they had, were not by them seen all whole and perfect together: because that the goods of Neleus Scepsian (to whom Theophrastus left all his books by will) came to fall into the hands of mean ignorant men, who knew not the vertue and estimation of them. And furthermore, Sulla being at Athens had such a pain and numbness in his legs, and was so heavy withal, that Strabo calleth it a spice of the gout, that is to say, a feeling or entring thereinto, which then began to root and take hold of him. Upon which occasion he took the seas, and went unto a place called Ædepsus, where there are natural hot baths: and there remained a while solacing himself all the day long

Sulla went to the baths for the gout in his legs

A satyr taken sleeping and brought to Sulla

with musick, seeing of plays, and entertaining such kind of people. Upon a day as he was walking by the seaside, certain fishermen made him a present of fish, which pleased him marvellous well, and demanding of them whence they were: they answered him again, that they were of the city of Halæ. What? of Halæ said he: is there any of them yet left alive? speaking it, because that after the battell of Orchomen when he followed the chase of his enemies, he had taken and destroyed three cities of Bœotia all at one self time, to wit Anthedon, Larymna, and Halæ. The poor fishermen were so amazed with these words, that they stood still, and could not tell what to say. Sulla fell a-laughing thereat, and bade them go their ways a God's name, and be not afraid, for they brought no small intercessors with them, which were worth the reckoning of. When Sulla had given them these words, the Halæans went home with a merry heart, to gather themselves together again in the city. Sulla so passing through Thessaly and Macedon, came to the seaside, intending to go from the city of Dyrrachium unto Brundusium, with twelve hundred sail. The city of Apollonia is hard by Dyrrachium, and thereabouts is a park consecrated unto the nymphs, where in a fair goodly green meadow in many places there cometh out great bubbles of fire that flame continually: and it is said that there was a satyr taken sleeping, even in the very self same form the painters and image-gravers have set him out. He was brought unto Sulla, and being asked by all sorts of interpreters what he was, he made no answer that a man could understand; but only put forth a sharp

voice like the neighing of a horse, or whinnying of a goat. Sulla wondring at it, abhorred him, and made him to be carried from him as a monstrous thing. Furthermore, when Sulla had embarked his men to pass the sea, he was afraid that so soon as they were landed in Italy, they would shrink from him, and every man go home to his own city. But they swore and promised first of themselves, that they would tarry and keep together, and by their wills would do no hurt in Italy. Moreover, perceiving that he stood in need of money, they offered him of theirs, and every man to lend him as his ability served. But Sulla would none, yet thanked them for their good-will: and after he had exhorted them to fight like valiant soldiers, he went against fifteen generals of armies of his enemies, who had four hundred and fifty ensigns of footmen well armed, as he himself writeth in his Commentaries. But the gods promised him good fortune in his wars, by many sundry apparent signs. For in a sacrifice he made by Tarentum, after he was come on land, the liver of a certain beast sacrificed, was altogether fashioned after the manner of a crown or garland of laurel, out of the which did hang two bands or rolls. And a little before he went into Campania, near unto the mountain Hepheum, there appeared two great goats in the day-time fighting together, even as two men do when they fight: which nevertheless was no matter of truth, but a vision only that appeared, and rising from the earth dispersed itself by little and little here and there in the air, and in the end vanished quite away, as clouds which come to nothing. Shortly after, in the self same place, Marius the younger, and Nor-

Sulla's return into Italy

Lucullus' victory at Fidentia

banus the Consul, who brought two great armies against him, were overthrown by him, before he had set his men in battell, or had appointed any man his place where he should fight: and this proceeded only upon the courage and life of his soldiers, whose good-will to serve against them was such, as following this victory, he compelled the Consul Norbanus after he had slain six thousand of his men, to take the city of Capua for his refuge. This noble exploit, (as himself reported) was the cause that his men kept so well together, that they neither went home to their houses, nor made any reckoning of their enemies, although they were many against one. And he saith furthermore, that in the city of Silvium, there was a slave of one Pontius a citizen, who being inspired with a prophetical spirit, came to tell him from the goddess Bellona, that he should grow in strength, and carry away the victory of these wars: howbeit that if he did not hie him the sooner, the Capitol at Rome should be burned. And so it fell out the same day according to his words, being the sixteenth day of the month called Quintilis, and now July. And furthermore also, Lucullus (one of Sulla's captains) being near unto the city of Fidentia with sixteen ensigns only, against fifty ensigns of his enemies, knowing his men to be very well affected to serve, because the most part of them were naked and unarmed, was afraid to hazard the battell: and as he was even bethinking himself what was best to determine thereof, there rose a little wind out of a goodly meadow that blew a wonderful sort of flowers upon the soldiers on every part of them. These flowers stayed of themselves as they fell,

some upon their targets, and others upon their morians, without falling to the ground: so that it seemed to their enemies afar off, as if they had been garlands of flowers upon their heads. This made Lucullus' soldiers more lusty a great deal than they were before, and with this good will they determined to give a charge upon their enemies: whom they overthrew, slew eighteen thousand of them in the field, and took their camp. This Lucullus was brother unto the other Lucullus, that afterwards overthrew the kings Mithridates and Tigranes. Nevertheless, Sulla perceiving that his enemies lay round about him with many great puissant armies, thought good to use policy with force: and therefore practised with Scipio one of the Consuls, to make peace with him. Scipio was willing to it: and thereupon were oft meetings and assemblies of both sides. Now Sulla drave off the conclusion of the peace as long as he could, still seeking occasion of delay, to the end that his soldiers which were thoroughly acquainted with craft and subtilety as well as himself, might in the meantime corrupt Scipio's soldiers by repair into his camp: for they coming into Scipio's camp, being very conversant with them, straight corrupted some of them with ready money, other with promises, and other with fair flattering words, and many goodly tales they told them. At the length, after this practice had continued awhile, Sulla coming near unto Scipio's camp with twenty ensigns only: all his men saluted Scipio's soldiers, and they re-saluting them again, yielded themselves unto Sulla, so as Scipio was left post alone in his tent where he was taken, but they afterwards let

Sulla's policy with Scipio

Sulla's vision in his dream

him go. So Sulla with his twenty ensigns, like unto the fowlers, that by their stales draw other birds into their nets, having gotten forty ensigns from his enemies by his craft, brought them away with him into his camp. There it was that Carbo said of Sulla, that he had to fight with a fox, and a lion both: but that the fox did him more hurt and mischief than the lion. After this, Marius the younger having fourscore and five ensigns in his camp near unto the city of Signium, presented battell unto Sulla: who having very good desire to fight, and specially on that day, because the night before he had seen this vision in his dream, that he thought he saw Marius the father (who was deceased long before) warning his son that he should come to him. Sulla for this respect desired marvellously to fight that day: and thereupon caused Dolabella to come unto him, that was before lodged far from him. But the enemies stepped between him and home, and stopped his passage to keep him from joining with Sulla. Sulla's soldiers to the contrary, fought to keep the way open for him, with so great labour and pain, that they were all weary and overharried. And furthermore, there fell a marvellous great shower of rain upon them as they were busy opening the way, that troubled them more, than the labour they had in hand. Whereupon the private captains of the bands went to make Sulla understand it, and to pray him to defer the battell until another day: showing him how the soldiers wearied with labour, lay down upon their targets on the ground to take their ease. Sulla perceiving this, was contented withal, though greatly indeed against his will. But

when he had given the signal to lodge, and that they began to trench and fortify their camp: Marius the younger cometh on horseback marching bravely before all his company, hoping to have surprised his enemies in disorder, and by that means to have overthrown them easily. But far otherwise did fortune then perform the revelation which Sulla had in his foresaid dream: for his men falling in a rage withal, left their work in the trench where they wrought, stuck their darts upon the bank, ran upon their enemies with their swords drawn, and with a marvellous cry set upon them so valiantly, that they were not able to resist their fury, but sodainly turned their backs and fled, where there was a great and notable slaughter made of them. Marius their captain fled to the city of Præneste, where he found the gates shut: but they threw him down a rope from the wall, which he tied about his middle, and so was triced up by it. Yet some writers say, and Fenestella among other, that Marius never saw the battell: for being wearied with labour, and very sleepy, he lay under some tree in the shadow to rest a little, after he had given the signal and word of the battell, and slept so soundly, that he could scant awake with the noise and flying of his men. Sulla himself writeth, that he lost at this battell but three and twenty men, slew twenty thousand of his enemies, and took eight thousand prisoners. His lieutenants also had the like good success in other places, Pompeius, Crassus, Metellus, and Servilius: which without any loss of their men, or but with a very small, overthrew many great mighty armies of their enemies. Insomuch as Carbo, the head and chief of all the con-

Marius fled to Præneste

lesinus the amnite

trary faction, and he that most maintained it, fled one night out of his camp, and went beyond the seas into Africk. The last battell that Sulla had, was against Telesinus Samnite, who coming like a fresh champion to set upon him, when he was already wearied, and had fought many battels, had almost slain him even at Rome gates. For Telesinus having gathered together a great number of soldiers with one Lamponius Lucanian, marched with all speed towards the city of Præneste, to deliver Marius the younger that was besieged there. But understanding that Sulla on the one side, came in great haste also to meet him, and that Pomponius came behind him on the other side, and perceiving moreover that the way was so shut up, that he could neither go forward nor backward, being a valiant soldier, and one that had been in many great foughten fields, most dangerously ventured to go straight to Rome. And so stale away by night with all his whole power, and marching to Romeward, had almost taken it at his first coming, for that there was neither watch nor ward kept: but he stayed happily ten furlongs from the gate Collina, bragging with himself, and believing that he should do wonders, for that he had mocked so many great captains. The next morning betimes came divers young noblemen and gentlemen out of the city to skirmish with Telesinus: who slew a great number of them, and among others one Appius Claudius a young gentleman of a noble house, and very honest. Whereupon (as you may easily imagine) the city trembled for fear, and specially the women, who fell a-shrieking, and running up and down, as if they had been all taken. But in

this great fear and trouble, Balbus (whom Sulla had sent) came first with seven hundred horse upon the spur, and staying but a little to cool and give them breath, bridled straight again, and went to set upon the enemies thereby to stay them. Soon after him came Sulla also, who commanded his men that came first, quickly to eat somewhat, and that done, put them straight in battel ray: notwithstanding that Dolabella and Torquatus persuaded him to the contrary, and besought him not to put his soldiers wearied with their journey, to so great and manifest a danger, and the rather, because they had not to fight with Carbo and Marius, but with the Samnites and Lucans, who were (both) warlike nations and good soldiers, and those besides that most deadly hated the Romans. But for all that, Sulla drave them back, and commanded his trumpets to sound the alarm, being almost within four hours of night: and this battell was sharper and more cruel, than any other that ever he fought before. The right wing where Crassus was, had the better much: but the left wing was very sore distressed, and stood in great peril. Sulla hearing thereof, and thinking to help it, got up upon a white courser that was both swift, and very strong. The enemies knew him, and there were two that lifted up their arms to throw their darts at him, whom he saw not: but his page gave his horse such a lash with his whip, that he made him so to gird forward, as the very points of the darts came hard by the horse's tail, and stuck fast in the ground. Some say that Sulla had a little golden image of Apollo, which he brought from the city of Delphes, and in time of wars ware it always in his bosom, which he then

put Sulla in great danger

Sulla fled took in his hand, and kissing it, said: O Apollo Pythius, hast thou so highly exalted Cornelius Sulla, so fortunate hitherto through so many famous victories, and wilt thou now with shame overwhelm him wholly, even at the very gates of his own natural city among his countrymen? And so crying out to Apollo for help, thrust into the press among his men, entreating some, threatening others, and laying upon the rest to stay them. But for all he could do, all the left wing of his army was broken and overthrown by his enemies: and himself amongst them that fled, was compelled to recover his camp with speed, having lost many of his friends and familiars. There were moreover many citizens slain and trodden under feet (both with horse and men) that came only to see the battell fought: so that they within the city thought themselves verily undone. Lucretius Ofella furthermore (he that besieged Marius in the city of Præneste) had almost raised his siege, upon the words of them that fled and came thither from the battell, who wished him to remove with all speed possible, for Sulla was slain, and Telesinus had taken Rome. Now about midnight came certain soldiers from Crassus to Sulla's camp, and asked for meat for Crassus' supper, and his mens', who having chased his flying enemies whom he had overthrown, unto the city of Antemnæ (which they took for refuge) had lodged his camp there. Sulla understanding that, and being advertised that the most part of his enemies were overthrown at this battell, went himself the next morning betimes unto Antemnæ, where three thousand of his enemies sent to know if he would receive them to mercy, if they

yielded themselves unto him. His answer was, That he would pardon their lives, so as they would do some mischief to their fellows before they came to him. These three thousand hereupon trusting to his promise, fell upon their companions: and for the most part one of them killed another. Notwithstanding, Sulla having gathered all those together that remained of his enemies, as well the three thousand, as the rest, amounting in all to the number of six thousand men, within the shew-place where they used to run their horses: whilest he himself held a council in the temple of the goddess Bellona, and was making his oration there, he had appointed certain to set upon those six thousand, and put them to the sword every man. Great and terrible were the cries of such a number of men slain in so small a room, as many may easily conjecture: insomuch as the Senators sitting in council heard them very easily, and marvelled what the matter was. But Sulla continuing on his oration which he had begun with a set steady countenance, without changing of colour, willed them only to hearken what he said, and not to trouble themselves with anything done abroad: for they were but certain offenders and lewd persons that were punished by his commandment. This was enough to shew the simplest Roman in Rome, that they had but only changed the tyrant, but not the tyranny. Now for Marius, that had been ever of a churlish and severe nature even from his childhood, he never changed for any authority, but did rather harden his natural stubbornness. Where Sulla contrarily in the beginning, was very modest and civil in all his prosperity, and gave great good hope that if he came to the autho-

Sulla violated the law of arms and his promise

Infinite murthers committed in Rome

rity of a prince, he would favour nobility well, and yet love notwithstanding the benefit of the people. And being moreover a man in his youth given all to pleasure, delighting to laugh, ready to pity, and weep for tender heart: in that he became after so cruel and bloody, the great alteration gave manifest cause to condemn the increase of honour and authority, as the only means whereby men's manners continue not such as they were at the first, but still do change and vary, making some fools, others vain and fantastical, and others extreme cruel and unnatural. But whether that alteration of nature came by changing his state and condition, or that it was otherwise a violent breaking out of hidden malice, which then came to shew it self, when the way of liberty was laid open: this matter is to be decided in some other treatise. So it came to pass, that Sulla fell to shedding of blood, and filled all Rome with infinite and unspeakable murthers: for divers were killed for private quarrels, that had nothing to do with Sulla at any time, who suffered his friends and those about him to work their wicked wills. Until at the length there was a young man called Caius Metellus, that was so bold to ask Sulla in open Senate, when all these miseries should end, and when they should know that all the mischiefs were finished, the which they daily saw. For said he, we will not entreat you to pardon life, where you have threatened death: but only to put them out of doubt whom you have determined to save. Whereunto Sulla made answer, That he was not resolved whom he would save. Metellus replied, Then tell us quoth he, who they are that shall die. Sulla answered he would. Howbeit

some say it was not Metellus, but Aufidius one of his flatterers, that spake this last word unto him. Wherefore Sulla immediately without making any of the magistrates privy, caused fourscore men's names to be set up upon posts, whom he would put to death. Every man being offended withal, the next day following he set up 220 men's names more: and likewise the third day as many more. Hereupon, making an oration to the people, he told them openly that he had appointed all them to die, that he could call to remembrance: howbeit that hereafter he would appoint them that should die by days, as he did call them to mind. Whosoever saved an outlaw in his house, for reward of his kindness, he himself was condemned to die: not excepting them that had received their brothers, their sons, their fathers, nor mothers. And the reward of every homicide and murtherer that killed one of the outlaws, was two talents: though it were a slave that had killed his maister, or the son that had slain the father. But the most wicked and unjust act of all was, that he deprived the sons, and sons' sons of them whom he had killed, of all credit and good name, and besides that had taken all their goods as confiscate. And this was not only done in Rome, but also in all the cities of Italy throughout: and there was no temple of any god whatsoever, no altar in anybody's house, no liberty of hospital, nor father's house, that was not embrued with blood and horrible murther. For the husbands were slain in their wives' arms, and the children on their mothers' laps: and yet they which were slain for private hatred and malice, were nothing in respect of those that were murthered only

Sulla's proscription

Sulla slew twelve thousand men in Præneste

for their goods. And they that killed them might well say, his goodly great house made that man die, his goodly fair garden the other: and his hot baths another. As amongst others, Quintus Aurelius, a man that never meddled with anything, and least looked that these evils should light upon him, and that only pitied those which he saw so miserably murthered: went one day into the market-place, and reading the bill set up of the outlaws' names, found his own name amongst the rest, and cried out aloud: Alas the day that ever I was born, my house of Alba maketh me to be put to death. He went not far from the market-place, but met with one that killed him presently. In the meantime, Marius the younger seeing he could by no means escape if he were taken, slew himself. And Sulla coming to Præneste, did first execute them by one and by one, keeping a certain form of justice in putting them to death: but afterwards as if he had no longer leisure to remain there, he caused them all to be put in a place together, to the number of twelve thousand men, whom he caused to be put to the sword every man, saving his host only, unto whom he said, that he shewed him specially favour to save his life. But his host answered him stoutly again, that he would not be beholding unto him for his life, seeing he had slain all the rest of his countrymen: and so thrusting in amongst the citizens, was willingly slain with them. They thought the act of Lucius Catiline also very strange, who had slain his own brother before the civil war was ended: and then prayed Sulla to put him in the number of the outlaws, as if his brother had been alive. Sulla performed his desire. Catiline

thereupon to shew his thankfulness for the pleasure Sulla had done him, went presently, and slew Marcus Marius, who was of the contrary faction: and brought him his head for a present before all the people, in the midst of the market-place where he was sitting. When he had so done, he went and washed his hands all blooded in the hallowed font of the temple of Apollo, that was hard by. But besides so many murthers committed, yet were there other things also that grieved the people marvellously. For he proclaimed himself Dictator, which office had not been of six score years before in use, and made the Senate discharge him of all that was past, giving him free liberty afterwards to kill whom he would, and to confiscate their goods: to destroy cities, and to build up new as he listed: to take away kingdoms, and to give them where he thought good. And furthermore, he openly sold the goods confiscate, by the crier, sitting so proudly and stately in his chair of state, that it grieved the people more to see those goods packt up by them, to whom he gave and disposed them, than to see them taken from those that had forfeited them. For sometimes he would give a whole country, or the whole revenues of certain cities, unto women for their beauty, or unto pleasant jesters, minstrels, or wicked slaves made free: and unto some, he would give other men's wives by force, and make them to be married against their wills. For he desiring (howsoever it happened) to make alliance with Pompey the great, commanded him to put away his wife he had married: and taking Æmilia (the daughter of Æmilius Scaurus, and of Metella his wife) from the great Glabrio, caused him to

Sulla Dictator

The order of Sulla's triumph

marry her great with child as she was by Glabrio: but she died in childbed, in Pompey's house. Lucretius Ofella also that had brought Marius the younger to that distress at the city of Præneste: suing to be Consul, Sulla commanded him to cease his suit. But he notwithstanding that express commandment, went one day into the market-place, with a great train of men following him that favoured his cause. Whither Sulla sent one of his centurions that slew Ofella before all the people: himself sitting in a chair of state in the temple of Castor and Pollux, and seeing from above the murther done. The people that were about Offella, laid hold of the murtherer straight and brought him before Sulla. But Sulla bade them be quiet that brought the centurion with tumult, and that they should let him go, because he commanded him to do it. Furthermore as touching his triumph, it was a sumptuous sight to behold, for the rareness of the riches, and princely spoils which were shewed at the same. But yet was it so much the better set out, and worth the sight, to see the banished Romans, who were the chiefest noblemen of all the city of Rome, following his chariot triumphant wearing garlands of flowers on their heads, calling Sulla their father, and saviour: because that by his means they returned to their country, and recovered their goods, wives, and children. In the end of his triumph, he made an oration in open assembly of the people of Rome, in the which he did not only declare unto them (according to the custom) what things he had done, but did as carefully tell them also as well of his good fortune and success, as of his vali-

ant deeds besides: and to conclude his oration, told them that by reason of the great favour fortune had shewed him, he would from thenceforth be called by them, Felix, to say, happy, or fortunate. And he himself when he wrote unto the Grecians, or that he had anything to do with them: surnamed himself Epaphroditus, as who would say, a pleasant man, beloved and favoured of Venus. His tokens of triumph which are yet in our country, have this superscription: Lucius Cornelius Sulla Epaphroditus. And when his wife Metella had brought him two twins, a son and a daughter: he named his son Faustus, signifying fortunate, and his daughter Fausta: because the Romans call *faustum* that, which falleth out prosperously, and happily. To be short, he trusted so much unto his good fortune and doings, that notwithstanding he had killed and put so many men to death, and had made so great a change and innovation in the commonwealth, yet of himself he left off his office of Dictator, and restored the people to the authority of election of Consuls again, without his presence at the election: and frequented the market place as a private man among the citizens, offering himself to every man that would ask him account of his doings past. It happened that a stout and rash enemy of his was chosen Consul against his will, called Marcus Lepidus, not for any devotion the people had to Lepidus, but only to gratify Pompey, who gave countenance and favour unto him. Sulla seeing Pompey come merry homewards from the election, and joyful that he had obtained his friend's suit from all other suitors: took him aside, and told him. Indeed thou hast great cause to rejoice,

Sulla leaveth his dictatorship

Sulla brake his own laws he made

young man my friend, for thou hast done a goodly act: to choose Marcus Lepidus Consul, the veriest ass in all Rome, before Catulus the honestest man. But I tell thee one thing, thou hadst not need to sleep: for thou hast strengthened an enemy, that will be thine own destruction. And Sulla proved a true prophet: for Lepidus being bent to all cruelty immediately after, flatly fell at defiance with Pompey. Now Sulla consecrating the dismes of all his goods unto Hercules, made exceeding sumptuous feasts unto the Romans, the provision whereof was so unreasonable great, that every day they threw a great deal of meat into the river, and they drank wine of forty years old and above. During these feasts which continued many days, his wife Metella sickened, and died, and in her sickness the priests and soothsayers willed Sulla he should not come near her, nor suffer his house to be polluted and defiled with mourning for the dead. Whereupon Sulla was divorced from her in her sickness, and caused her to be carried into another house, whilst she lived. And thus did Sulla curiously observe the superstition and ordinance of the soothsayers: but yet he brake the law which he made himself, touching the order of funerals, sparing no cost at Metella's burial. So did he also break another order himself had made, touching the reformation of banquets: comforting his sorrow with ordinary feasts, full of all vanity and lasciviousness. Within a few moneths after, he had fencers' games at the sharp: and the rooms of the theatre being open and unsevered, men and women sitting together, it fortuned that there was a fair

lady, and of a noble house, that sat hard by Sulla, called Valeria: she was the daughter of Messala, and sister of Hortensius the orator, and had been divorced not long before from her husband. This lady passing by Sulla behind him, did softly put her hand on his shoulder, and took a hair from off his gown, and so went on to her place, and sat her down. Sulla marvelling at this familiarity, looked earnestly upon her: it is nothing, my lord (quoth she) but that I desire with others to be partaker a little of your happiness. Her words misliked not Sulla, but contrarily he shewed that she had tickled him with them: for he sent straight to ask her name, and inquired of what house she was, and how she had lived. But after many sly looks between them, they turned their faces one to another upon every occasion, with pretty smiling countenances: so that in the end, they came to promise and contract marriage together, for the which Valeria was not to be blamed. For though she was as wise, as honest, and as vertuous a lady as could be possible, yet the occasion that made Sulla marry her, was neither good nor commendable, because he was taken straight with a look and a fine tongue, as if he had been but a young boy: which commonly shew forth the filthiest passions of the mind, to be so carried, and with such motions. Now, notwithstanding he had this fair young lady in his house, he left not the company of women minstrels and tumblers, and to have pleasant jesters and musicians about him, with whom he would lie wallowing and drinking all the day long, upon little couches made for the nonce. For, his

Sulla married Valeria

Sulla's imposthume turned to lice

companions that were in greatest estimation with him at that time, were these three: Roscius a maker of common plays, Sorex a prince of scoffers, and one Metrobius a singing man, whom he was in love withal while he lived, and yet did not dissemble his love, though he was past age to be beloved. This wicked life of his was cause of increasing his disease, the original cause whereof had light foundation at the first. For he lived a great time before he perceived that he had an imposthume in his body, the which by process of time came to corrupt his flesh in such sort, that it turned all to lice: so that notwithstanding he had many men about him, to shift him continually night and day, yet the lice they wiped away were nothing, in respect of them that multiplied still upon him. And there was neither apparel, linen, baths, washing, nor meat itself, but was presently filled with swarms of this vile vermin. For he went many times in the day into the bath to wash and cleanse himself of them, but all would not serve: for the changing of his flesh into this putriture wan it straight again, that there was no cleansing, nor shifting of him, that could keep such a number of lice from him. Some say, that in old time (amongst the most ancientest men, whereof there is any memory) Acastus the son of Pelias, died of the lousy evil: and long time after also, the poet Alcman, and Pherecydes the divine: and so did Callisthenes Olynthian in prison, and Mucius a wise lawyer. And if we shall make mention of those that are famous men, although it be not in any good matter: we find that a bondman called Eunus, he

that was the first procurer of the wars of the bondmen in Sicily, being taken and carried to Rome, died also of the same disease. Furthermore, Sulla did not only foresee his death, but he wrote something of it also: for he made an end of writing the two and twentieth book of his Commentaries, two days before he died. In that book he saith, that the wise men of Chaldea had told him long before, that after he had lived honourably, he should end his days in the flower of all his prosperity. And there he saith also, that his son (who departed a little before his mother Metella) appeared to him in his sleep, apparelled in an ill-favoured gown, and that coming unto him, he prayed him he would go with him unto Metella his mother, thenceforth to live in peace and rest with her. But for all his disease, he would not give over to deal in matters of state. For ten days before his death, he pacified a sedition, and tumult, risen among the inhabitants of the city of Puteoli (in Italian called Pozzolo) and there he gave them laws and ordinances, whereby they should govern themselves. And the day before he died, hearing that Granius who was in debt to the commonwealth, deferred payment of his money looking for his death: he sent for him, and made him come into his chamber, and there caused his men to compass him about, and commanded them to strangle him in his sight. The passion of his anger was so vehement against him, that by the extreme straining of himself, he brake the imposthume in his body, so as there gushed out a wonderful deal of blood: by reason whereof his strength failing him, he was full of pain and pangs

Sulla's son that was dead appeared to him in his dream

Sulla's death

that night, and so died, leaving the two little children he had by Metella. For Valeria, was brought to bed of a daughter after his death, which was called Postuma, because the Romans call those children that are born after the death of their fathers, *postumus*. Now when Sulla was dead many gathered about the Consul Lepidus to let that his body should not be honourably buried, as they were accustomed to bury noblemen and men of quality. But Pompey, though he was angry with Sulla, because he had given him nothing in his will, and had remembered all his other friends: yet he made some for love, some by entreaty, and others with threatening to let it alone, and accompanying the corpse into Rome, gave both safety and honour unto the performance of his funerals. And it is said also, that the Roman ladies, amongst other things, bestowed such a quantity of perfumes and odoriferous matter towards the same: that besides those which were brought in two hundred and ten great baskets, they made a great image to the likeness of Sulla himself, and another of a sergeant carrying the axes before him, all of excellent incense and cinnamon. When the day of the funerals came, fearing lest it would rain in the forenoon, all the element being so cloudy, they deferred to carry forth the body to be burnt, until past three of the clock in the afternoon. And then rose there such a sudden boisterous wind, that it set all the stake of wood straight afire, that the body was burnt at a trice, and the fire going out, fell a great shower of rain that held on till night: so that it seemed good fortune following him even to his end, did also

help his obsequies after his death. His tomb is to be seen in the field of Mars: and they say that he himself made his own epitaph that is written upon it, which was:

Sulla's epitaph

That no man did ever pass him,
neither in doing good to
his friends, nor in
doing mischief to
his enemies.

THE END OF SULLA'S LIFE.

THE COMPARISON OF
SULLA WITH LYSANDER

Lysander raised with the people's good-will

Now that we have at large also set forth the life of the Roman, let us come to compare them both together. In this they are both alike, that both of them grew to be great men, rising of themselves through their own vertue: but this only is proper to Lysander, that all the offices and dignities which he attained unto in the commonwealth, were laid upon him through the people's good-wills and consents. For he compelled them to nothing, neither usurped he any extraordinary authority upon them, contrary to law: for, as the common saying is:

> Where partiality and discord once do reign:
> There wicked men are most esteemed, and rule with greatest gain.

As at that time in Rome, the people being corrupted, and the state of government utterly subverted and brought to nought: to-day there rose up one tyrant, to-morrow another. And therefore we may not wonder if Sulla usurped and ruled all, when such fellows as Glaucia and Saturninus, did both banish and drive out of Rome such men as Metellus was: and where also in open assembly they slew Consuls' sons in the market-place, and where force of arms was bought and sold for gold and silver, with the which the soldiers were corrupted: and

where they made new laws with fire and sword, and forced men to obey the same. Yet I speak not this in reproach of him that in such troublesome times found means to make himself the greatest man: but to shew that I measure not his honesty by the dignity he grew unto in so unfortunate a city, although he became the chief. And as touching him that came from Sparta (at what time it flourished most, and was the best governed commonweal) he in all great causes, and in most honourable offices, was reputed for the best of all bests, and the chief of all chiefs. Wherefore it happened, that the one resigned up the authority to his countrymen, the citizens, which they had given him, who also restored it to him again many and sundry times: for the honour of his vertue did always remain, and made him justly accounted for the worthiest man. Where the other being once only chosen general of an army, remained ten years continually in wars and hostility, making himself by force, sometime Consul, sometime Vice-Consul, and sometime Dictator, but always continued a tyrant. Indeed Lysander attempted to change, and alter the state of government in his country, howbeit it was with great lenity, and more lawfully than Sulla did. For he sought it by reason, and good persuasion, not by the sword: neither would he make a change of the whole at one self time as Sulla did, but sought only to reform the election of kings. The which thing according to nature, doubtless seemed very just: that he which was the best amongst good men, should be chosen king of that city, which was the chief over all Greece, not for her nobility, but for her vertue only. For

The chief person is not always the honestest

Lysander's and Sulla's faults

like as a good hunter doth not seek for the whelp of a good dog, but for the good dog himself: nor a wise man of arms also, the colt that cometh of a good horse, but the good horse himself. Even so, he that taketh upon him to stablish a civil government, committeth a foul fault, if he look of whom his prince should be born, and not what the prince himself should be, considering that the Lacedæmonians themselves have deprived divers of their kings from their crown and realm, because they were not princely, but unprofitable, and good for nothing. Vice, although it be in a noble man, yet is it always ill of it self: but vertue is honoured for her self alone, and not because she is placed with nobility. Now for the wrongs and injuries they both committed, the one did work only to pleasure his friends, and the other to offend them to whom he was bounden. For it is certain that Lysander did great wrongs to gratify his familiars: and the most part of them whom he put to death, was to establish the tyrannical power of certain his friends. Where Sulla sought for spite to take away his army from Pompey, and the admiralty from Dolabella, which he himself had given, and caused Lucretius Ofella to be slain openly in his own sight, because he sought to be Consul, for recompense of the good service he had done: for which cruelty of his, causing his own friends to be slain in such sort, he made every man afeard of him. Furthermore, their behaviours touching covetousness and pleasure doth shew, that the intent of the one was the desire of a good prince, and the other, that of a tyrant. For we do not find that Lysander, for all his great princely authority, did *ever use* any insolency or lasciviousness in his deeds,

but always avoided as much as a man might, the reproach of this common proverb: Lions at home, and foxes abroad: he led such a true Laconian life, straightly reformed in all points. Where Sulla could never moderate his unlawful lusts, neither for poverty when he was young, nor yet for age, when it came upon him. But whilest he gave laws to the Romans touching matrimonial honesty and chastity: himself in the meantime did nothing but follow love, and commit adulteries, as Sallust writeth. By means whereof he so much impoverished Rome, and left it so void of gold and silver: that for ready money he sold absolute freedom unto the cities their confederates, yet was it his daily study to confiscate and take for forfeit, the richest and most wealthiest houses in all the whole city of Rome. But all this spoil and havoc was nothing in comparison of that which he daily cast away upon his jesters and flatterers. What sparing, or measure may we think he kept in his gifts at private banquets: when openly in the daytime (all the people of Rome being present, to see him sell the goods which he had caused to be confiscate) he made one of his friends and familiars, to truss up a great deal of household stuff, for a very little price? And when any other had outbidden his price, and that the crier had cried it out aloud: then was he angry, and said: My friends, I have great wrong done me here, not to suffer me sell the spoil I have gotten at mine own pleasure, and dispose it as I list myself. Where Lysander contrarily sent to the commonwealth of Sparta, with other money, the very presents that were given to himself. And yet I do not commend him that deed. For, peradventure

Sulla's licentious and prodigal life

Sulla for wars

he did more hurt to Sparta, bringing thither that gold and silver: than Sulla did to Rome in wasting and consuming that he consumed. Howbeit I allege this only, for proof and declaration that Lysander was nothing covetous. They both have done that unto their city, which never any other but themselves did. For Sulla being a riotous and licentious man, brought his citizens notwithstanding to good order and government: and Lysander contrarily filled his city with vice, yet not infected withal himself. Thus were they both offenders, the one for breaking the law he commanded to be kept, and the other in making the citizens worse than he was himself: for he taught the Spartans to desire those things, which he above all things had learned to despise. And thus much concerning peace and civil government. Now for matters of war and battels fought, there is no comparison to be made of Lysander to Sulla, neither in number of victories, nor in hazard of battell. For Lysander wan only but two battels by sea, besides the taking of the city of Athens: which (though I grant him) being rightly considered, was no great exploit of war, howbeit it was a noble act, considering the fame he wan by it. And as for things which happened to him in Bœotia, hard by the city of Haliart: a man might say peradventure that he had ill luck. But yet methinks also there was a fault in him, for that he stayed not for King Pausanias' aid (the which came from Platæa immediately after his overthrow) and because he went in a gaire in fury, and in a vain ambition to run his head against a wall: so that men of all sorts making a desperate

sally out of Haliart upon him, slew him there to no purpose. Far unlike to Cleombrotus that died at the battell of Leuctra, resisting his enemies that distressed his men: nor yet like Cyrus, nor Epaminondas, who to keep his men from flying, and to give them assured victory, received his deadly wound: for all these men died like noble kings, and valiant captains. Where Lysander rashly cast himself away, to his great dishonour, by too much venturing: proving thereby, that the ancient Spartans did like wise men, to avoid the fight with walls. For the noblest and valiantest man that is, or possible can be, may easily be so slain, not only by the first soldier that cometh, but by every silly woman or child. As they say that the worthy Achilles was killed by Paris within the very gates of Troy. Now to the contrary again, the victories that Sulla wan in set battels, and the thousands of enemies which he slew, are not easily to be numbered, besides also that he took the city of Rome twice, and the haven of Athens: not by famine as Lysander did, but by force, after he had by many great battels driven Archelaus out of firm land into the main sea. It is to be considered also, against what captains they made wars. For methinks it was but a pastime, as a man might say, for Lysander to fight with Antiochus, a pilot of Alcibiades, or to surprise and deceive Philocles, a common orator at Athens:

to be preferred before Lysande

> Whose busy tongue much worse than two edg'd sword did seem:
> Which prattled still, and honesty did never once esteem.

And whom Mithridates (in my opinion) would

Sulla's magnanimity

not vouchsafe to compare with his horsekeeper, nor Marius with one of his sergeants or macebearers. But to leave aside the particular names of all other princes, lords, consuls, prætors, captains, and governors that made wars with Sulla: what Roman captain was there more to be feared, than Marius? what king living was there of such power as King Mithridates? And of generals and lieutenants of armies in all Italy, were there any ever more valiant, than Lamponius and Telesinus: of the which Sulla drave the one away, and brought the other to obey him, and slew the two last? But the greatest matter of all that we have spoken of yet, in my opinion was, that Lysander did all his noble acts, with the aid of his whole country: where Sulla to the contrary did his, (being banished from his country), by his enemies. And at the self same time that they drave Sulla's wife out of Rome, that they overthrew his houses, and slew his friends also in Rome: he notwithstanding made wars in the meantime with infinite thousands of fighting men in Bœotia, and ventured his person in manifold dangers, so that in the end he conquered them all to the honour and benefit of his country. Furthermore, Sulla would never stoop to King Mithridates, for any particular alliance he offered him, neither yield unto him for any aid of men, or money, to war against his enemies: but a thing most chiefly to be noted above the rest, he would not vouchsafe to speak to Mithridates, nor to take him by the hand only, before he had spoken it with his own mouth, and faithfully promised, that he would forego Asia, deliver him his galleys, and

give up the realms of Bithynia and Cappadocia unto their natural kings. This methinks was the goodliest act that ever Sulla did, and proceeded of the greatest magnanimity, to have preferred the benefit of the common wealth in that sort, before his private commodity. For therein he was like unto a good greyhound that first pincheth the deer, and holdeth him fast till he have overthrown him: and then afterwards followeth the pursuit of his own private quarrel. And lastly, methinks it is easily judged, what difference there was between their two natures, in that they did both towards the city of Athens. For Sulla having taken it, after the citizens had made fierce wars with him for the increase of King Mithridates' greatness: yet he left it free unto them, enjoying their own laws. Where Lysander to the contrary, seeing such a mighty state and empire as that overthrown from the great rule it bare, had no pity of it at all, but took away the liberty of popular government, whereby it had been governed of long time before: and established there very cruel and wicked tyrants. And therefore in mine opinion, we shall not much swerve from the truth, if we give this judgement: that Sulla did the greater acts, and Lysander committed the fewer faults. And that we give to the one the honour of a continent and modest man: and to the other, the commendation of a valiant and skilful soldier.

Plutarch's judgement of Sulla and Lysander

THE LIFE OF CIMON

Peripoltas and his posterity

PERIPOLTAS the soothsayer, he that brought King Opheltas out of Thessaly into the country of Bœotia, with the people which were under his obedience: left a posterity after him that long time flourished in that country, the more part of the which were ever resident in the city of Chæronea, because it was the first city that was conquered from the barbarous people whom they expulsed thence. All they that came of that race, were commonly men of great courage, and naturally given to the wars: who were so forward and adventurous in all dangers thereof (in the invasions of the Medes into Greece, and in the battels of the Gauls) that they were slain all of them, but only Damon (a little child left fatherless and motherless) surnamed Peripoltas that escaped, who for goodly personage and noble courage excelled all the lusty youths of his time, though otherwise he was very rude, and of a severe nature. Now it fortuned, that when Damon was grown of full age, a Roman captain of an ensign of footmen (lying in garrison for the winter season in the city of Chæronea) fell in great love with Damon: and because he could not reap the fruits of his dishonest love by no entreaty or gifts, there appeared vehement presumptions that by force he went about to

The manners and part of Damo

abuse him, for that Chæronea at that time (being my natural city where I was born) was a small thing, and (being of no strength nor power) little regarded. Damon mistrusting the captain's villainy, and detesting his abhominable desire, watched him a shrewd turn, and got certain of his companions (not many in number, because he might the more secretly compass his enterprise) to be a council with him, and take his part against the captain. Now there were a sixteen of them in consort together, that one night blacked their faces all with soot, and the next morning after they had drunk together, by the break of day set upon this Roman captain, that was making sacrifice in the market-place, and slew him with a good number of his men: and when they had done, fled out of the city, which was straight in a great uproar for the murther committed. Thereupon they called a council, and in the market-place condemned Damon and his confederates to suffer pains of death: hoping thereby to have cleared their innocency for the fact done to the Romans. But the selfsame night, as all the magistrates and officers of the city were at supper together in the town-house according to their custom: Damon and his followers stale upon them suddenly, slew them all, and fled again upon it. It chanced about that time, that Lucius Lucullus being sent on some journey, passed by the city of Chæronea with his army: and because this murther was but newly done, he stayed there a few days to examine the truth and original thereof. And found that the commons of the city were in no fault, but that they themselves also had received hurt: whereupon he took the soldiers of the Romans that re-

Chæronea indicted for the murther

mained of the garrison, and carried them away with him. In the meantime, Damon destroyed all the country thereabout, and still hovered near to the city, insomuch as the inhabitants of the same were driven in the end to send unto him, and by gentle words and favourable decrees handled him so, that they enticed him to come again into the city: and when they had him amongst them, they chose him Gymnasiarches, to say, a master of exercises of youth. But shortly after, as they were rubbing of him with oil in his stove or hot-house, stark naked as he was, they slew him by treason. And because there appeared spirits of long time after in that place, and that there were heard groanings and sighings as our fathers told us, they caused the door of the hot-house to be walled up: yet for all that, there are visions seen, and terrible voices and cries heard in that self place unto this present time, as the neighbours dwelling by do testify. Now they that were descended of this Damon (for there are yet of his race in the country of Phocis, near unto the city of Stiris, who do only of all other both keep the language and manners of the Ætolians) are called Asbolomeni, signifying black, and besmeared with soot: because that Damon and his fellows did black their faces with soot, when they slew the Roman captain. But the Orchomenians being near neighbours unto the Chæroneians, and therefore their enemies, hired an informer of Rome, a malicious accuser, to accuse the whole city, (as if it had bin one private person alone) for the murther of the Romans, whom Damon and his companions had slain. The inditement was drawn, and the case pleaded before the

governor of Macedon, for that the Romans did send no governors at that time into Greece: and the counsellors that pleaded for the city of Chæronea, relied upon the testimony of Lucius Lucullus, referring themselves to his report, who knew the truth and how it was. Thereupon the governor wrote unto him, and Lucullus in his letter of answer advertised the very troth: so was our city cleared of the accusation, which otherwise stood in danger of utter destruction. The inhabitants of the city of Chæronea, for that they had escaped the danger by testimony of Lucius Lucullus, to honour him withal, they set up his image in stone in the market-place, next unto the image of Bacchus. And we also that be living at this present, though many years be gone and passed since, do notwithstanding reckon ourselves partakers of his forepassed benefit. And because we are persuaded, that the image and portraiture that maketh us acquainted with men's manners and conditions, is far more excellent, than the picture that representeth any man's person or shape only: we will comprehend his life and doings according to the truth, in this volume of noble men's lives, where we do compare and sort them one with another. It shall be sufficient for us therefore, that we show ourselves thankful for his benefit, and we think, that he himself would mislike for reward of his true testimony, to be requited with a favourable lie told in his behalf. But like as when we will have a passing fair face drawn, and lively counterfeited, and that hath an excellent good grace withal, yet some manner of blemish or imperfection in it: we will not allow the drawer to leave it out altogether,

How to describe the life o a man

Cimon and Lucullus in what things they were alike

nor yet too curiously to show it, because the one would deform the counterfeit, and the other make it very unlikely. Even so, because it is a hard thing (or to say better, peradventure impossible) to describe a man, whose life should altogether be innocent, and perfect: we must first study to write his vertues at large, and thereby seek perfectly to represent the truth, even as the life itself. But where by chance we find certain faults and errors in their doings, proceeding either of passion of the mind, by necessity of the time or state of the common wealth: they are rather to be thought imperfections of vertue not altogether accomplished, than any purposed wickedness proceeding of vice, or certain malice. Which we shall not need too curiously to express in our history, but rather to pass them lightly over, of reverent shame to the mere frailty of man's nature, which cannot bring forth a man of such vertue and perfection, but there is ever some imperfection in him. And therefore, considering with myself unto whom I might compare Lucullus, I thought it best to compare him with Cimon, because they have been both valiant soldiers against their enemies, having both done notable exploits in wars against the barbarous people: and moreover, they have both been courteous and merciful unto their citizens, and were both the only men that pacified the civil wars and dissension in their country, and both the one and the other of them wan notable victories of the barbarous people. For there was never Grecian captain before Cimon, nor Roman captain before Lucullus, that had made wars so far off from their country leaving apart the deeds of Bacchus and of Hercules,

and the deeds also of Perseus, against the Æthiopians, the Medes, and the Armenians, and the deeds of Jason also: if there remain any monument extant since their time, worthy of credit in these our days. Furthermore, herein are they to be likened together: that they never ended their wars, they only overthrew their enemies, but never overcame them altogether. Again, they may note in them a great resemblance of nature, for their honesty, curtesy and humanity, which they showed unto strangers in their country: and for the magnificence and sumptuousness of their life and ordinary expense. It may be we do leave out some other similitudes between them: howbeit in the discourse of their lives they will easily appear. Cimon was the son of Miltiades and of Hegesipylé, a Thracian woman born, and the daughter of King Olorus, as we find written in certain poetical verses which Melanthius and Archelaus have written of Cimon. The father of Thucydides the historiographer himself, who was of kin also unto Cimon, was called in like manner Olorus, shewing by the agreeing of the name, that this King Olorus was one of his ancestors, and did also possess mines of gold in the country of Thrace. It is said moreover that he died in a certain place called the Ditchy Forest, where he was slain: howbeit that his ashes and bones were carried into the country of Attica, where his tomb appeareth yet to this day, amongst the tombs of them of the house and family of Cimon, near unto the tomb of Cimon's own sister called Elpinicé. Notwithstanding, Thucydides was of the village of Halimus, and Miltiades of the village of Laciadæ. This Miltiades, Cimon's father, being condemned

Cimon's linage

Cimon's conditions

by the state to pay the sum of fifty talents, was for non-payment cast into prison, and there died: and left Cimon and his sister Elpinicé alive, both orphans, and very young. Now, Cimon in his first young years had a very ill name and report in the city, being counted a riotous young man, and a great drinker, following his grandfather Cimon's fashions up and down, as he had also his name: saving that his grandfather for his beastliness was surnamed Coalemos, as much to say as fool. Stesimbrotus Thasian, who was about Cimon's time, writeth, that Cimon never learned music, nor any other of the liberal sciences accustomably taught to young noblemen's sons of Greece, and that he had no sharp wit, nor good grace of speaking, a vertue proper unto children born in the country of Attica: howbeit that he was of a noble mind, and plain, without dissimulation, so that he rather lived Peloponnesian like, than like an Athenian. For he was even such as the poet Euripides described Hercules to be:

> A simple man he was, and could not well disguise:
> As honest eke in things of weight, as wit could well devise.

This served fitly to be applied unto Stesimbrotus' words written of him: but notwithstanding, in his first young years he was suspected of incontinency with his sister, who indeed otherwise had no very good name. For she was very familiar with the painter Polygnotus, who painting the Troyan ladies prisoners upon the walls of the gallery, called the Peisianacteion, and now Pœcilé (to say, set out and beautified with divers pictures): he drew (as they

say) Laodicé's face upon Elpinicé's picture. This painter Polygnotus was no common artificer nor hireling, that painted this gallery for moneys' sake, but gave his labour frankly to the common wealth, as all the historiographers that wrote in that time do witness: and as the Poet Melanthius also reciteth in these verses:

Cimon subject t lascivio life

At his own proper charge great cost he hath bestowed,
In decking up our temples here with gilted roofs embowed,
For honour of the gods. And in our town likewise,
He hath adorned the common place with many a fine devise:
Painting and setting forth in stately shew to see.
The images of demi-gods that here amongst us be.

Yet some say that Elpinicé did not secretly company with her brother Cimon, but lay with him openly as his lawful married wife, because she could not for her poverty have a husband of like nobility and parentage to herself. Howbeit, that a certain man called Callias, being one of the richest men of the city, did afterwards fall in fancy with her, and desired to marry her, offering to pay her father Miltiades' fine of fifty talents, wherein he stood condemned a debtor to the state, so that he might have her to his wife. Cimon was contented, and upon that condition married his sister Elpinicé unto Callias. This notwithstanding, it is certain that Cimon was somewhat amorous, and given to love women. For Melanthius the poet in certain of his elegies, maketh mention for his pleasure of one Asteria born at Salamis, and of another called Mnestra, as if Cimon had been in love with them.

The praise of Cimon's conditions

But undoubtedly, he loved his lawful wife Isodicé marvellous well, the daughter of Euryptolemus, Megacles' son, and took her death very grievously, as we may conjecture by the elegies that were written unto him, to comfort him in his sorrow. Panætius the philosopher is of opinion, that Archelaus the physician wrote those elegies: and sure it is not unlikely, considering the time in which they were written. But furthermore, Cimon's nature and conditions deserved great commendation. For his valiantness he gave no place unto Miltiades, and for his wisdom and judgement, he was not inferior unto Themistocles: and it is out of all doubt that he was a juster and honester man, than either of them both. For he was equal with the best of either of both in the discipline of wars, and for the valiantness of a noble captain: and he did much excel them both in the properties of a good governor, and in the administration of the affairs of a city, when he was but a young man, and had no experience of wars. For when Themistocles at the coming in of the Medes counselled the people of Athens to go out of the city, to leave their lands and country, and to ship into galleys, and fight with the barbarous people by sea in the Strait of Salamis: as every man was wondering at his bold and virtuous counsel, Cimon was the first man that went with a life and jollity through the street Ceramicus, unto the castell, accompanied with his young familiars and companions, carrying a bit of a bridle in his hand to consecrate unto the goddess Minerva, signifying thereby, that the city had no need of horsemen at that time, but of mariners and seamen. And after he had given up his offering, he took one of

the targets that hung upon the wall of the temple, and having made his prayer unto Minerva, came down to the haven, and was the first that made the most part of the citizens to take a good heart to them, and courageously to leave the land, and take the sea. Besides all this, he was a man of a goodly stature, as Ion the poet testifieth, and had a fair curled hair and thick, and fought so valiantly at the day of the battell, that he wan immediately great reputation, with the love and goodwill of every man. So that many were still about him to encourage him to be lively and valiant, and to think thenceforth to do some acts worthy of the glory that his father had gotten at the battell of Marathon. And afterwards, so soon as he began to deal in matters of state, the people were marvellous glad of him, and were wearied with Themistocles: by means whereof Cimon was presently advanced and preferred to the chiefest offices of honour in the city, being very well thought on of the common people, because of his soft and plain nature. Moreover, Aristides also did greatly further his advancement, because he saw him of a good gentle nature, and for that he would use him as a counterpoise to control Themistocles' craft and stoutness. Wherefore after the Medes were fled out of Greece, Cimon being sent for by the Athenians for their general by sea, when the city of Athens had then no manner of rule nor commandment, but followed King Pausanias and the Lacedæmonians: he ever kept his countrymen and citizens in marvellous good order in all the voyages he made, and they were readier to do good service, than any other nation in the whole army whatso-

Cimon general for the Athenian by sea

King Pausanias through insolency and pride,

ever. And when King Pausanius had practised with the barbarous people to betray Greece, had written also to the King of Persia about it, and in the meantime dealt very cruelly and straitly with the confederates of his country, and committed many insolent parts by reason of the great authority he had, and through his foolish pride whereof he was full: Cimon far otherwise, gently entertained them whom Pausanias injured, and was willing to hear them. So that by this his curteous manner, the Lacedæmonians having no eye to his doings, he stale away the rule and commandment of all Greece from them, and brought the Athenians to be sole lords of all, not by force and cruelty, but by his sweet tongue, and gracious manner of using all men. For the most part of the confederates being no longer able to away with Pausanias' pride and cruelty, came willingly and submitted themselves under the protection of Cimon and Aristides: who did not only receive them, but wrote also to the council of the Ephors at Lacedæmon, that they should call Pausanias home, for that he dishonoured Sparta, and put all Greece to much trouble and wars. And for proof hereof, they say that King Pausanias being on a time in the city of Byzance, sent for Cleonicé, a young maiden of a noble house, to take his pleasure of her. Her parents durst not keep her from him, by reason of his cruelty, but suffered him to carry her away. The young gentlewoman prayed the groom of Pausanias' chamber to take away the lights, and thinking in the dark to come to Pausanias' bed that was asleep, groping for the bed as softly as she could to make no noise, she unfortunately hit against the lamp, and overthrew

it. The falling of the lamp made such a noise that it wakened him on the sudden, and thought straight therewithal that some of his enemies had been come traitorously to kill him, whereupon he took his dagger lying under his bed's head, and so stabbed it in the young virgin, that she died immediately upon it. Howbeit she never let Pausanias take rest after that, because her spirit came every night and appeared unto him, as he would fain have slept, and spake this angrily to him in verse, as followeth:

lost the Lacedæmonians all their rule of Greece

Keep thou thyself upright, and justice see thou fear,
For woe and shame be unto him that justice down doth bear.

This vile fact of his did so stir up all the confederates' hearts against him, that they came to besiege him in Byzantium under the conduction of Cimon: from whom notwithstanding he escaped, and secretly saved himself. And because that this maiden's spirit would never let him rest, but vexed him continually: he fled unto the city of Heraclea, where there was a temple that conjured dead spirits, and there was the spirit of Cleonicé conjured to pray her to be contented. So she appeared unto him, and told him that he should be delivered of all his troubles so soon as he came to Sparta: signifying thereby (in my opinion) the death which he should suffer there. Divers writers do thus report it. Cimon being accompanied with the confederates of the Grecians, which were come to him to take his part: was advertised that certain great men of Persia, and allied to the king himself, who kept the city of Eïoné, upon the river of Strymon in the country of Thracia,

Butes burneth himself, city, and friends

did great hurt and damage unto the Grecians inhabiting thereabouts. Upon which intelligence he took the sea with his army, and went thither, where at his first coming he vanquished and overthrew the barbarous people in battell: and having overthrown them, drave all the rest into the city of Eïone. That done, he went to invade the Thracians that dwelt on the other side of the river of Strymon, who did commonly victual them of Eïone: and having driven them to forsake the country, he kept it, and was lord of the whole himself. Whereupon he held them that were besieged at Eïone so straitly from victuals, that Butes the king of Persia's lieutenant, despairing of the state of the city, set fire on the same, and burnt himself, his friends, and all the goods in it. By reason wherefore, the spoil taken in that city was but small, because the barbarous people burnt all the best things in it with themselves: howbeit he conquered the country thereabouts, and gave it the Athenians to inhabit, being a very pleasant and fertile soil. In memory whereof, the people of Athens suffered him to consecrate and set up openly three Herms of stone (which are four square pillars upon the tops of the which they set up heads of Mercury): upon the first of the three pillars, this inscription is graven.

The people truly were of courage stout and fierce,
Who having shut the Medes fast up (as stories do rehearse)
Within the walled town of Eïoné that tide,
Which on the stream of Strymon stands: they made them there abide
The force of famine's pinch, and therewith made them feel
The dint of war so many a time, with trusty tools of steel:

Till in the end, despair so piercèd in their thought,
As there they did destroy themselves, and so were brought to nought.

Statues of Mercury

Upon the second there is such another:

The citizens which dwell in Athens stately town,
Have here set up these monuments, and pictures of renown,
To honour so the facts, and celebrate the fame,
Their valiant chieftains did achieve in many a martial game.
That such as after come, when they thereby perceive,
How men of service for their deeds did rich rewards receive,
Encouragèd may be such men for to resemble,
In valiant acts and dreadful deeds, which make their foes to tremble.

And upon the third another:

When Mnestheus did lead forth of this city here,
An army to the Trojan wars, (by Homer doth appear)
He was above the rest that out of Græcia went,
A valiant knight, a worthy wight, a captain excellent,
To take in hand the charge an army for to guide,
And eke to range them orderly, in battell to abide.
That praise of prowess then (O grave Athenians)
Is now no news to fill the ears of these your citizens.
Since through the world so wide, the fame and worthy praise,
For martial feats to you of yore hath judgèd been always.

Now, though Cimon's name be not comprised in these inscriptions, yet they thought that this was a singular honour to him at that time: for neither Miltiades nor Themistocles had ever the like. For when Miltiades requested the people one day that they would license him to wear a garland of olive boughs upon his head: there was one Sochares,

The council of the Amphictyons

born in the town of Decelea, that standing up in open assembly spoke against him, and said a thing that marvellously pleased the people, though indeed it was an unthankful recompense for the good service he had done to the common wealth. When you have Miltiades (said he) overcome the barbarous people alone in battell, then ask to be honoured alone also. But how was it then, that Cimon's service was so acceptable to the Athenians? It was in mine opinion, because they had with other captains fought to defend themselves and their country only: and that under the conduction of Cimon, they had assaulted and driven their enemies home to their own doors, where they conquered the cities of Eïoné and of Amphipolis, which afterwards they did inhabit with their own citizens, and wan there also the Isle of Scyros, which Cimon took upon this occasion. The Dolopians did inhabit it, who were idle people, and lived without labour or tillage, and had been rovers of the sea of a wonderful long time, using piracy altogether to maintain themselves withal: so that in the end they spared not so much as the merchants and passengers that harboured in their havens, but robbed certain Thessalians that went thither to traffick. And when they had taken their goods from them, yet would they cast them in prison besides. Howbeit the prisoners found means to escape, and after they had saved themselves, repaired to the parliament of the Amphictyons, which is a general council of all the states and people of Greece. The Amphictyons understanding the matter, condemned the city of the Scyrians to pay a great sum of money. The citizens refused to be contributaries to the payment of

the fine, and bade them that robbed the merchants and had the goods in their hands, pay it if they would. And therefore, because there was no other likelihood, but that the thieves themselves should be driven to answer the fine, they fearing it, wrote letters unto Cimon, and willed him to come with his army and they would deliver their city into his hands: the which was performed. And thus Cimon having conquered this island, drave out the Dolopians thence, and rid the sea Ægean of all pirates thereby. That done, remembring that the ancient Theseus, the son of Ægeus, flying from Athens came into that island of Scyros, where King Lycomedes suspecting his coming had traitorously slain him, Cimon was marvellous careful to seek out his tomb: because the Athenians had an oracle and prophecy, that commanded them to bring his ashes and bones back again to Athens, and to honour him as a demi-god. But they knew not where he was buried, for that the inhabitants of the island would never before confess where it was, nor suffer any man to seek it out, till he at the last with much ado found the tomb, put his bones aboard the admiral galley sumptuously decked and set forth and so brought them again into his country, four hundred years after Theseus' death. For this, the people thanked him marvellously, and thereby he wan exceedingly the Athenians' good wills: and in memory of him they celebrated the judgement of the tragical plays of the poets. For when Sophocles the poet, being a young man, had played his first tragedy, Aphepsion the president, perceiving there was great strife and contention amongst the lookers-on, would not draw them by lots that should be

Theseus' bones brought to Athens

Æschylus overcome by Sophocles

judges of this play, to give the victory unto that poet that had best deserved: but when Cimon and the other captains were come into the theatre to see the same (after they had made their accustomed oblations unto the god, in honour of whom these plays were celebrated), he stayed, and made them to minister an oath unto ten, (which were of every tribe of the people one) and the oath being given, he caused them to sit as judges to give sentence, which of the poets should carry away the prize. This made all the poets strive and contend who best should do, for the honour of the judges: but Sophocles by their sentence bore away the victory. But Æschylus (as they say) was so angry and grieved withal, that he tarried not long after in Athens, and went for spite into Sicilia, where he died and was buried near unto the city of Gela. Ion writeth that he being but a young boy, newly come from Chios unto Athens, supped one night with Cimon at Laomedon's house, and that after supper when they had given the gods thanks, Cimon was intreated by the company to sing. And he did sing with so good a grace, that every man praised him that heard him, and said he was more courteous than Themistocles far: who being in like company, and requested also to play upon the cithern, answered them, he was never taught to sing nor play upon the cithern, howbeit he could make a poor village to become a rich and mighty city. After that done, the company discoursing from one matter to another, as it falleth out commonly in speech, they entered in talk of Cimon's doings: and having rehearsed the chiefest of them, he himself told one, which was the notablest and wisest part of

all the rest that ever he played. For the Athenians and their confederates together, having taken a great number of barbarous people prisoners, in the cities of Sestos and of Byzantium: the confederates to honour him withal, gave him the preheminence to divide the spoil amongst them. Whereupon he made the division, and set out the bodies of the barbarous people all naked by themselves, and laid the spoils and their apparel by themselves. The confederates found this distribution very unequal; but nevertheless Cimon gave them the choice to choose which of the two they would, and that the Athenians should be contented with that which they left. So there was a Samian captain called Herophytus, that gave the confederates counsel rather to take the spoils of the Persians, than the Persians themselves, and so they did: for they took the spoil of the prisoners' goods and apparel, and left the men unto the Athenians. Whereupon Cimon was thought at that time of the common soldiers to be but an ill divider of spoil, because that the confederates carried away great store of chains, carkanets, and bracelets of gold, and goodly rich purple apparel after the Persian fashion: and the Athenians brought away naked bodies of men, very tender and unacquainted with pain and labour. But shortly after, the parents and friends of these prisoners, came out of Phrygia and Lydia, and redeemed every man of them at a great ransom: so that Cimon gathered such a mass of ready money together by their ransom, as he defrayed the whole charges of all his galleys with the same for the space of four moneths after, and left a great sum of money besides in the sparing

Cimon's choice

Cimon's liberality and hospitality

treasure of Athens. Cimon by this means being now become rich, bestowed the goods which he had thus honourably gotten from the barbarous people, more honourably again, in relieving his poor decayed citizens. For he brake up all his hedges and inclosures, and laid them plain and open, that travellers passing by, and his own poor citizens, might take as much fruit thereof as they would, without any manner danger. And furthermore, kept a continual table in his house, not furnished with many dishes, but with meat sufficient for many persons, and where his poor countrymen were daily refreshed, that would come unto that ordinary: so as they needed not otherwise care to labour for their living, but might be the readier, and have the more leisure to serve the common wealth. Yet Aristotle the philosopher writeth, that it was not for all the Athenians indifferently, that he kept this ordinary table: but for his poor town's men only in the village of Laciadæ, where he was born. Furthermore, he had always certain young men waiting on him of his household servants well appareled, and if he met by chance as he went up and down the city, any old citizen poorly arrayed, he made one of these young men strip himself, and change apparel with the old man: and that was very well thought of, and they all honoured him for it. Moreover, these young men carried ever good store of money about them: and when they met with any honest poor citizen in the market-place, or elsewhere, knowing his poverty, they secretly gave him money in his hand, and said never a word. Which the poet self Cratinus seemeth to speak of, in a comedy of his entitled the Archilochians:

I am Metrobius the secretary, he
Which did myself assure (in age) well cherishèd to be
At wealthy Cimon's board, where want was never found,
Whose distributions and his alms did to the poor abound.
There thought I for to pass mine aged years away,
With that right noble godly man, which was the Grecians' stay.

Cimon's godly acts

Furthermore, Gorgias Leontine said, that Cimon got goods to use them, and that he used them to be honoured by them. And Critias, that was one of the thirty tyrants of Athens, he wisheth and desireth of the gods in his elegies:

The gods of Scopas' heirs, the great magnificence
And noble heart of Cimon, he who sparèd none expense:
The glorious victories and high triumphant shows,
Of good Agesilaus king, good gods, oh grant me those.

The name of Lichas Spartan, hath been famous amongst the Grecians: and yet we know no other cause why, saving that he used to feast strangers that came to Lacedæmon on their festival day, to see the sports and exercises of the young men dancing naked in the city. But the magnificence of Cimon, did far exceed the ancient liberality, courtesy, and hospitality of the Athenians: for they of all other were the first men that taught the Grecians throughout all Greece, how they should sow corn, and gather it to maintain themselves withal, and also showed them the use of wells, and how they should light and keep fire. But Cimon making an hospital of his own house, where all his poor citizens were fed and relieved, and per-

Cimon's integrity and clean hands

mitting strangers that travelled by his grounds to gather such fruits there, as the time and season of the year yielded: he brought again (as it were) into the world, the goods to be common amongst them, as the poets say they were in the old time of Saturn's reign. And now, where some accused this honest liberality of Cimon, objecting that it was but to flatter the common people withal, and to win their good wills by that means: the manner of life he led, accompanying his liberality, did utterly confute and overthrow their opinions that way of him. For Cimon ever took part with the nobility, and lived after the Lacedæmonians' manner, as it well appeared, in that he was always against Themistocles, who without all compass of reason increased the authority and power of the people: and for this cause he joined with Aristides, and was against Ephialtes, who would for the people's sake have put down and abolished Aropagus court. And where all other governors in his time were extortioners and bribetakers (Aristides and Ephialtes only excepted) he to the contrary led an uncorrupt life in administration of justice, and ever had clean hands, whatsoever he spake or did, for the state and common wealth, and would therefore never take money of any man living. And for proof hereof, we find it written, that a nobleman of Persia called Rhœsaces, being a traitor to his master the king of Persia, fled on a time unto Athens: where being continually baited and wearied, with the common accusations of these tale-bearers and pick-thanks, that accused him to the people, he repaired at the length unto Cimon, and brought him home to his own door two bowls, the one full of daricks of

gold, and the other of daricks of silver, which be pieces of money so called, because that the name of Darius was written upon them. Cimon seeing this offer, fell a-laughing, and asked him whether of the two he would rather choose, to have him his friend or his hireling. The barbarous nobleman answered him, that he had rather have him his friend. Then said Cimon to him again, Away with thy gold and silver, and get thee hence: for if I be thy friend, that gold and silver shall ever be at my commandment, to take and dispose it as I have need. About that time began the confederates of the Athenians to be weary of the wars against the barbarous people, desiring thenceforth to live quietly, and to have leisure to manure and husband their grounds, and to traffic also, considering that they had driven their enemies out of their country, and that now they did them no more hurt: by reason whereof they paid the money they were sessed at, but they would furnish no more men nor ships as they had done before. But the other captains of the Athenians compelled them to it by all the means they could, and prosecuted law against them that failed payment, condemning them in great fines, and that so cruelly, that they made the seigniory and dominion of the Athenians hateful unto their confederates. Howbeit Cimon took a contrary course to them: for he compelled no man, but was content to take money and void ships of them that would not, or could not serve in their persons, being very glad to suffer them to become slothful mongrels in their houses, by too much rest, and to transpose themselves from good soldiers which they had been, to labourers, merchants, and farmers,

A noble saying of Cimon

The benefit of pains and service

altogether altered from arms and wars, through the beastly slothful desire they had to live pleasantly at home. And contrarily, causing a great number of the Athenians one after another to serve in galleys, he so acquainted them with continual pains in his voyages: that he made them in short space become lords and masters over them, then gave them pay and entertainment. For they began by little and little to flatter and fear the Athenians, whom they saw trained continually in the wars, ever armour bearing, and carrying their weapons in their hands, becoming expert soldiers at their charge, by reason of the pay they gave them: so that in the end, they became subjects and contributaries as it were unto them, where before they were their friends and companions. So as there never was Grecian captain that bridled more the cruelty and power of that mighty Persian king, than Cimon did. For, after he had driven him out of all Greece, he left him not so, but following him foot hot, as we commonly say, before the barbarous people could take breath, or give wise and direct order for their doings: he made so great speed, that he took some of their cities from them by force, and other some by practice, causing them to rebel against the king, and turn to the Grecians' side. Insomuch as there was not a man of war left for the king of Persia in all Asia, from the country of Ionia, directly down to Pamphylia. And furthermore, being advertised that the king's captains were upon the coast of Pamphylia with a great army by sea, because he would fear them in such sort, that they should not brave any more to shew themselves upon the sea, on this side of the Isles of the Chelidonians: he departed

from the Isle of Gnidos, and from the city of Triopium, with two hundred galleys, the which at the first had been excellently well made and devised by Themistocles, as well for swift sailing, as for easy turning. Howbeit Cimon made them to be enlarged, to the end they might carry the greater number of men of war in battell, to assault the enemies. And so went first against the Phaselites (who were Grecians born, and yet notwithstanding would neither take the Grecians' part, nor receive their army into their havens) landed there, destroyed all the country, and then came and camped with his army hard at their walls. But the men of Chios being ancient friends of the Phaselites, and in Cimon's army at that journey, did somewhat pacify his anger, and gave advertisement to them of the city of their doings by letters, which they tied to their arrows, and shot over the walls. So as in the end they procured their peace with condition, that the Phaselites should pay ten talents for a fine: and furthermore should also follow the army of the Grecians, and from thenceforth fight with them, and for them, against the barbarous people. Now Ephorus saith, that the Persian captain that had charge of the army by sea, was called Tithraustes, and the captain of the army by land, Pherendates. But Callisthenes writeth, that Ariomandes the son of Gobrias, was the king's lieutenant, having chief authority over the whole army that lay at anker before the river of Eurymedon, and had no desire to fight, because they looked for a new supply of fourscore sail of the Phœnicians, that should come to them from Cyprus. But Cimon contrarily, sought to fight before these galleys of the Phœnicians came

Cimon wan the city of Phaselis

Cimon's victory of the Persians

to join with them, and put his galleys in order of battell, determining to give a charge, and compel them to fight, would they, or would they not. Which the barbarous people perceiving, drew nearer into the mouth of the river Eurymedon, because they should not compass them in behind, nor force them to come to battell against their wills. Which notwithstanding when they saw the Athenians come to set upon them where they lay, they made out against them a fleet of six hundred sail, as Phanodemus declareth: or as Ephorus writeth, three hundred and fifty sail only. But they did nothing worthy of so great a power, at the least touching the fight by sea, but turned their prores straight to the river: where such as could recover the mouth thereof in time saved themselves, flying to their army by land, which was not far from that place set also in order of battell. But the rest that were taken tardy by the way, they were slain, and their galleys sunk or taken: whereby we may know that there were a great number of them: for many were saved as it is likely, and many also were splitted to pieces, and yet the Athenians took two hundred of them prisoners. In the mean season, their army by land came nearer to the seaside: which Cimon perceiving, stood in some doubt whether he should land his men or not, because it seemed a hard and dangerous thing unto him, to land in spite of his enemies: and to put forth the Grecians already wearied with the first battell against the barbarous people, who were altogether whole, fresh, and lusty, and withal many in number against one. Nevertheless, perceiving that his men trusted in their force, besides the courage which the first victory gave them, and that

they desired none other thing but to fight with the enemies: he put them on land while they were hot yet with the first battell. And so with great fury and loud cries they ran immediately against the barbarous people, who stood still and stirred not, and received their first charge very valiantly: by reason whereof, the battell grew sharp and bloody, insomuch as there were slain all the greatest personages and men of best account of all the Athenians' army. But the other fought it out so valiantly, that in the end they wan the field, and with marvellous difficulty made the barbarous people fly, whereof they slew a great number in the place, and took the rest prisoners with all their tents and pavilions, which were full of all sorts of riches. Thus Cimon like a valiant champion of the holy games, having in one self day won two victories, and having excelled the battell by sea also which the Grecians had won within the channel of Salamis, with that which he wan then upon the land: and the battell which the Grecians wan by land before the city of Platæa, with that which he wan the day before on the sea: yet he was not contented with all this. For, after two so famous victories obtained, he would once again fight for the honour of the tokens of triumph: and being advertised that the fourscore sail of the Phœnicians (coming too late to be present at the first battle by sea) were arrived at the head of Hydra, he sailed thither with all possible speed. Now the captains of this fleet, knew no certainty of the overthrow of their chiefest army, but stood in doubt of it, and would not be persuaded that it was overthrown in that sort: and therefore were they so much the more affraid, when they descried

both by sea and land

Cimon brought he King f Persia to con- tions of peace

afar off the victorious army of Cimon. To conclude, they lost all their ships, and the greatest part of their men, which were either drowned or slain. This victory against the Persians did so daunt and pluck down the pride and lofty mind of the barbarous Persian king, as he made that condition of peace so much spoken of in ancient histories, in the which he promised and sware, that his armies thenceforth should come no nearer to the Grecian Sea, than the career of a horse, and that he would sail no farther forward, than the Isles Chelidonians, and Cyaneans, with any galleys or other ships of war. Howbeit the historiographer Callisthenes writeth, that it was no part of any article comprised within the condition of peace, but that the king kept it for the fear he had of this so great an overthrow: and that afterwards he kept so far from the Grecian Sea, that Pericles with fifty sail, and Ephialtes with thirty only, did sail beyond the Isles Chelidoniæ, and no barbarous fleet ever came against them. Yet notwithstanding all this, amongst the common acts of Athens, which Craterus hath gathered together, the articles of this peace are found written at large, as a thing that was true indeed. And it is said, that for this occasion the Athenians built an altar of peace, and that they did Callias great honour, for that he was sent ambassador unto the king of Persia to take his oath for confirmation of this peace. So when all these spoils of the enemies were sold to them that would give most, there was such store of gold and silver in the sparing coffers of their treasury, that there was enough to serve their turn for any service they would employ it to, and besides that, they had sufficient to build up the side of the wall

of the castle which looketh towards the south, this voyage and great spoil did so enrich them. And it is said moreover, that the building of the long walls that join to the city with the haven, which they call the Legs, was built and finished afterwards: howbeit the first foundations thereof were built with the money Cimon gave towards it, for that the work met with moorish and watery places, by mean whereof they were driven to fill up the marishes, with force of flints and great logs, which they threw unto the bottom. It was he also that first did beautify and set forth the city of Athens, with places of liberal exercise and honest pastime, which shortly after were much esteemed. For he caused plane-trees to be set in the market-place: and the Academy which before was very dry and naked, he made it now a pleasant grove, and full of goodly springs which he brought into it, and made fine covered arbours to walk in, and goodly long smooth alleys to run a good course in. On a time he had news brought him that certain Persians dwelling in Cherronesus (to say a demy-isle of the country of Thracia) would not be gotten out, but sent to the people of High Thracia, to pray their aid to defend themselves against Cimon: of whom they made but little account, because he was departed from Athens with a very few ships, who set upon them only with four galleys, and took thirteen of theirs. And so having driven the Persians out of Cherronesus, and subdued the Thracians, he conquered all the country of Cherronesus, from Thracia unto his own country. And departing from thence, went against them of the Isle of Thasos, that had rebelled against the Athenians: and having over-

Cimon was at the charge of certain common buildings

Cimon accused and discharged

come them in battell by sea, he wan three-and-thirty of their ships, and besides that took their city by siege, and wan the mines of gold lying beyond the same to the Athenians, with all the lands that belonged unto them. This conquest made his way open into Macedon, and gave him great opportunity to have taken the best part thereof at that present time. But because he let it alone, and followed not that opportunity, he was suspected to have taken money, and to have been bribed by presents of King Alexander: whereupon, his secret enemies laid their heads together, and accused him. But Cimon to clear himself before the judges of this accusation, said unto them: I have practised friendship neither with the Ionians, nor yet with the Thessalians, both which are very rich and wealthy people: neither have I taken their matters in hand, as some other have done, to receive both honour and profit by them. But indeed I am a friend to the Lacedæmonians, for I confess I love them, and desire to follow their sobriety, and temperance of life, the which I prefer and esteem above any riches or treasure: although I am very glad notwithstanding to enrich our state and common wealth with the spoils of our enemies. Stesimbrotus reporteth this accusation, and saith: that his sister Elpinicé went to Pericles' house, (who was the sharpest and straightest accuser of his) to pray him not to deal so extremely with her brother: and that Pericles laughing on her, said, alas, thou art too old, Elpinicé, thou, now to overcome these matters. Yet for all that, when Cimon's cause came to hearing, he was a more gentle adversary, than any other of his accusers, and rose up at once to speak against him, and that for manner's

sake only: so that Cimon thereby escaped, and was cleared of this accusation. And furthermore, so long as he was present in Athens, he always kept the seditious people in obedience, who would ever cross and thwart the authority of the nobility, because they would have all the sway and rule in their own hands. But when Cimon was sent abroad any whither to the wars, then the common people having nobody to gainsay them, turned, and altered the government of the city topsy-turvy, and confounded all the ancient laws and customs which they had observed of long time, and that by the procurement and setting on of Ephialtes. For they took away all hearing of causes in manner from the court of Areopagus, and put all authority of matters judicial into the hands of the people, and brought the state of the city into a pure Democratia, to say, a common weal ruled by the sole and absolute power of the people, Pericles being then in great credit, who altogether favoured the people's faction. Wherefore Cimon at his return, finding the authority of the Senate and council so shamefully defaced and trodden under foot, was marvellously offended withal, and sought to restore the ancient state of judgement again as it was before, and set up the government of the nobility (called Optimatia) that was established in the time of Clisthenes. But then began his enemies again with open mouth to cry out upon him, reviving the old former naughty rumour that ran of him before, that he kept his own sister: and furthermore accusing him, that he did favour the Lacedæmonians. And amongst other things there ran in the people's mouths the verses of the poet Eupolis, which were made against Cimon:

Pericles reduceth the common wealth unto a democracy

Cimon followeth the Lacedæmonian manner

No wicked man he was, but very negligent,
And there withal to wine much more than unto money bent.
He stale sometimes away at Sparta for to sleep:
And left poor Elpinice his wife at home alone to weep.

And if it be so, that being thus negligent and given to wine, he have gotten so many cities, and won such sundry great battels: it is out of doubt then that if he had been sober and careful, there had never been before him nor since any Grecian captain, that had passed him in glory of the wars. Indeed it is true, that from the beginning he ever loved the manner of the Lacedæmonians: for of two twins which he had by his wife Clitoria, he named the one of them Lacedæmonius, and the other Eleus, as Stesimbrotus writeth, saying that for that cause Pericles did ever twit them in the teeth with their mother's stock. Howbeit Diodorus the geographer writeth, that both those two, and another third called Thessalus, were born of Isodicé, the daughter of Euryptolemus, the son of Megacles. Howsoever it was, it is certain that Cimon's credit grew the greater, by the favour and countenance which the Lacedæmonians gave him, who had hated Themistocles of long time, and for the malice they bare him, were glad that Cimon being but a young man, did bear more sway in Athens than he. Which the Athenians perceived well enough, and were not offended withal at the beginning, because the goodwill of the Lacedæmonians towards him did bring them great commodity. For when the Athenians began to grow of great power, and to practice secretly that the confederates of the Grecians should forsake the Lacedæmonians

to join with them: the Lacedæmonians were not angry withal, for the honour and love they bare unto Cimon, who did alone in manner manage all the affairs of Greece at that time, because he was very curteous unto the confederates, and also thankful unto the Lacedæmonians. But afterwards when the Athenians were aloft and of great power, and that they saw Cimon stuck not for a little matter with the Lacedæmonians, but loved them more than they would have had him: they began then to envy him, because in all his matters he had to do, he ever highly praised and extolled the Lacedæmonians before them. But specially, when he would reprove them of any fault they had committed, or that he would persuade them to do any thing: The Lacedæmonians, said he, I warrant ye do not so. That, as Stesimbrotus saith, made him marvellously to be maliced of the people. But the chiefest thing they accused him of, and that most did hurt him, fell out upon this occasion. The fourth year of the reign of Archidamus, the son of Zeuxidamus king of Sparta, there fortuned the wonderfulest and most fearful earthquake in the city of Lacedæmon, and thereabouts, that ever was heard of. For the earth in many places of the country opened, and fell as into a bottomless pit. The mountain Taygetus shook so terribly, that points of rocks fell down from it. All the city was laid on the ground and overthrown, five houses only excepted, the rest being wholly destroyed. And it is said also, that a little before this earthquake came, the young men of that city were playing with the young boys exercising themselves stark naked under a great gallery covered over.

A marvellous great earthquake in Lacedæmon

Archidamus' sodain policy ived the city

and as they were sporting together, there started up a hare hard by them. The young men spying her, ran after the hare stark naked and oiled as they were, with great laughter. They were no sooner gone thence, but the top of the gallery fell down upon the boys that were left, and squashed them all to death. And in memory of the same, the tomb where they were afterwards buried, is called unto this day Seismatias, as much to say, as the tomb of those which the earthquake had slain. But King Archidamus foreseeing straight upon the sudden the danger that was to come, by that he saw present, perceiving his citizens busy in saving their household stuff, and that they were running out of their houses: made the trumpeters to sound a hot alarm upon it, as if their enemies had come stealingly upon them to take the city, to the end that all the inhabitants should presently repair unto him (setting all business apart) with armour and weapon. That sodain alarm doubtless saved the city of Sparta at that time: for the Helotæ, which are their slaves and bondmen in the country of Laconia, and the country clowns of little villages thereabouts, came running armed out of all parts, to spoil and rob them upon the sudden, that were escaped from this earthquake. But when they found them well armed in order of battell, they returned back again as they came: and then began afterwards to make open wars upon them, when they had drawn certain of their neighbours unto their confederacy, and specially the Messenians, who made hot wars upon the Spartans. Whereupon the Lacedæmonians sent Periclidas unto

Athens to demand aid: whom Aristophanes the poet mocking said:

Cimon procured aid for the Lacedæmonians

> With visage pale and wan, he on the altar sat,
> In scarlet gown, requiring aid, to succour their estate.

Against whom Ephialtes also spake very much, protesting that they should not aid nor relieve a city that was an enemy unto Athens, but rather suffer it to fall to the ground, and to spurn the pride and arrogancy of Sparta under their feet. But Cimon (as Critias saith) being more careful for the benefit of Sparta, than for the enlarging and increasing of his country: brought it to pass by his persuasion, that the Athenians sent him thither with a great power to help them. And furthermore Ion rehearseth the very self words that Cimon spake to move the people to grant his request. For he besought them that they would not suffer Greece to halt, as if Lacedæmon had been one of her feet, and Athens the other: nor to suffer their city to lose another city their friend, and subject to the yoke and defence of Greece. Having therefore obtained aid, to lead unto the Lacedæmonians, he went with his army through the Corinthians' country: wherewith Lachartus a captain of Corinth was marvellously offended, saying, that he should not have entered into their country with an army, before he had asked licence of them of the city. For said he, when one knocketh at a man's door or gate, yet he cometh not in, before the maister of the house commandeth him. But ye Corinthians (said Cimon to him again) have not knocked at the gates of the Cleo-

Cimon banished for ten years

næans, nor of the Megarians, to come in, but have broken them open, and entered by force of arms, thinking that all should be open unto them that are the stronger. Thus did Cimon stoutly answer the Corinthian captain again, because it stood him upon, and so went on with his army through the country of Corinth. Afterwards the Lacedæmonians sent again unto the Athenians, to require aid against the Messenians and the Helots, (which are their slaves) who had won the city of Ithome. But when the Athenians were come, the Lacedæmonians were afraid of the great power they had brought, and of their boldness besides: wherefore they sent them back again, and would not employ them of all other their confederates that came to their succour, because they knew them to be men very tickle, desiring change and alterations. The Athenians returned home, misliking much that they were sent back again, insomuch as ever after they hated them that favoured the Lacedæmonians in anything. And for the Lacedæmonians' sake therefore, taking a small occasion of offence against Cimon, they banished him out of their country for ten years: which was the full term appointed and limited unto them that were banished with the Ostracismos banishment. Now within the term of those ten years, the Lacedæmonians fortuned to undertake the delivery of the city of Delphes, from the servitude and bondage of the Phocians, and to put them from the custody and keeping of the temple of Apollo, which is in the said city. Wherefore, to obtain their desire and purpose, they came to plant their camp near unto the city of Tanagra in Phocis, where the Athenians went to fight with them.

Cimon understanding this, although he was in exile, came to the Athenians' camp armed, with intent to do his duty to fight with his countrymen against the Lacedæmonians, and so went into the bands of the tribe Œneïd, of the which he was himself. But his own country enemies cried against him, and said, that he was come to none other end, but to trouble the order of their battell, of intent that he might afterwards bring them to the city self of Athens. Whereupon the great council of the five hundred men were afraid, and sent to the captains to command them they should not receive him into the battell: so that Cimon was compelled to depart the camp. But before he went, he prayed Euthippus Anaphlystian, and his other friends that were suspected as himself was to favour the Lacedæmonians' doings: that they should do their best endeavour to fight valiantly against their enemies, to the intent their good service at that battell might purge their innocency towards their countrymen: and so they did. For the Athenians keeping the soldiers Cimon had brought with him, which were a hundred in all, they set them apart by themselves in a squadron, and fought it so valiantly and desperately, that they were slain every man of them in the field, leaving the Athenians marvellous sorry for them, and repenting them that they had so unjustly mistrusted them as traitors to their country. Wherefore they kept not their malice long against Cimon, partly as I am persuaded, because they called his former good service to mind which he had done to their country aforetime, and partly also, because the necessity of the time so required it. For the Athenians having lost a great battell before

Cimon called from exile

Cimon's dream

Tanagra, looked for no other about the spring of the year, but that the Peloponnesians would invade them with a great power: wherefore they revoked Cimon's banishment by decree, whereof Pericles self was the only author and procurer. So civil and temperate were men's enmities at that time, regarding the common benefit of their public state and weal: and so much did their ambition (being the most vehement passion of all other, and that most troubleth men's minds) give place, and yield to the necessities and affairs of the common weal. Now when Cimon was again returned to Athens, he straight pacified the war, and reconciled both cities together. And when he saw that the Athenians could not live in peace, but would be doing still, and enlarge their dominions by war, for lucre's sake: to prevent them that they should not fall out with any of the Grecians, nor by scouring and coasting up and down the country of Peloponnesus, and the isles of Greece, with so great a navy, should move occasion of civil wars amongst the Grecians, or of complaints unto their confederates against them: he rigged and armed out two hundred galleys to go again to make war in Cyprus, and in Egypt, because he would acquaint the Athenians with the wars of the barbarous people, and thereby make them lawful gainers by the spoils of those their natural born enemies. But when all things were in readiness to depart, and the army pressed to ship and sail away: Cimon dreaming in the night had this vision. It seemed unto him that he saw a bitch angry with him, and barking earnestly at him, and that in the middest of her barking, she *spake* with a man's voice, and said unto him:

Come hardily, spare not: for if thou come by me,
My whelps, and I which here do stand, will quickly welcome thee.

The interpretation of the dream

This vision being very hard to interpret, Astyphilus born in the city of Posidonia, a man expert in such conjectures, and Cimon's familiar friend, told him that this vision did betoken his death, expounding it in this sort. The dog commonly is an enemy to him he barketh at. Again, nothing gladdeth our enemy more, than to hear of our death. Furthermore, the mingling of a man's voice with the barking of a bitch, signifieth nothing else, but an enemy of the Medes: because the army of the Medes is mingled with the barbarous people and the Grecians together. Besides this vision, as he did sacrifice to the god Bacchus, the priest opening the beast after it was sacrificed, about the blood that fell to the ground there assembled a swarm of ants, which carried the congealed blood off from the ground by little and little, and laid it all about Cimon's great toe, a great while together before any man marked it: Cimon at the last spied it by chance, and as he was looking on them to mark what they did, the minister of the sacrifice brought the beast's liver that was sacrificed, to shew him, whereof the biggest end that they call the head was lacking, and this they judged for a very ill token. Notwithstanding, having all things ready for preparation of this journey, so as he could not well go back, he launched into the sea, and hoised sail, and sending three score of his galleys into Egypt, sailed with the rest upon the coast of Pamphylia. Where he wan a battell by sea of the king of Persia, overcoming the galleys of the

The death of Cimon

Phœnicians and the Cilicians, and conquered all the cities thereabouts, making the way very open to enter into Egypt. For he had no small thoughts in his mind, but reached to high enterprises, and determined utterly to destroy the whole empire of the mighty king of Persia, and specially for that he understood Themistocles was in marvellous credit and reputation amongst the barbarous people, because he had promised the king of Persia to lead his army for him, and to do him notable service whensoever he should have occasion to war with the Grecians. It is thought this was the chief cause that made Themistocles poison himself, because he despaired that he could not perform that service against Greece which he had promised: assuring himself that it was no easy matter to vanquish Cimon's courage and good fortune, who lay at that time with his army all alongst the Isle of Cyprus, promising himself great matters at that instant. But in the mean season, Cimon sent certain of his men unto the oracle of Juppiter Ammon, to ask him some secret question: for no man ever knew neither then nor since, for what cause he had sent them thither, neither did they also bring back any answer. For they were no sooner come thither, but the oracle commanded them straight to return: saying unto them, that Cimon was then coming to him. So Cimon's men receiving this answer, left the oracle, and took the journey back to the seawards. Now when they were come again to the Grecians' camp, which at that present lay in Egypt, they heard that Cimon was departed this world: and reckoning the days since his death, with the instant of their answer received by the oracle, that

Cimon was then coming unto him: they knew straight that darkly he had signified his death unto them, and that, at that very time he was with the gods. He died at the siege of the city of Citium in Cyprus, as some report, or else of a hurt he received at a skirmish, as other hold opinion. When he died, he commanded them that were under his charge, to return into their country again, and in no case to publish his death: which commandment was so wisely and cunningly handled, that they all came home safe, and not an enemy, nor any of their confederates that once understood anything of it. So was the army of the Grecians governed and led by Cimon, though himself was dead, the space of thirty days, as Phanodemus writeth. But after his death, there was no Grecian captain that did any notable thing worthy of fame against the barbarous people, because the orators and governors of the chiefest cities of Greece stirred them up one against another, and there was no man that would once step in as a mediator to make peace between them. And thus the Grecians now did one destroy and spoil another by civil war amongst themselves: which happily gave the king of Persia leisure and time to restore himself again, and contrarily was cause of such utter ruin and destruction of the whole power and force of Greece, as no tongue can well express. Indeed a long time after, King Agesilaus came with an army of the Grecians into Asia, and began a small war against the lieutenants of the king of Persia's governors of the lower countries of Asia. But before he could do any notable exploit, he was called home again by occasion of new troubles and

Cimon's death kept very secret

Cimon's monuments at Athens

civil wars rising among the Grecians, and compelled to return into his country, leaving the treasures of the king of Persia, raising of subsidies and taxes upon the cities of the Grecians in Asia, although they were confederates of the Lacedæmonians. Whereas in the time that Cimon governed, they never saw any of the king's sergeants-at-arms, or commissioner, that brought any letters patents or commandment from the king, or any soldier that durst come near the sea, by forty furlongs. The tombs which they call unto this present day Cimonia, do witness that his ashes and bones were brought unto Athens. Nevertheless, they of the city of Citium do honour a certain tomb, which they say is Cimon's tomb: because that in a great dearth and barrenness of the earth, they had an oracle that commanded them, not to neglect Cimon, as the orator Nausicrates writeth it, but to honour and reverence him as a god.

Such was the life of this Grecian captain.

THE END OF CIMON'S LIFE.

THE LIFE OF
LUCIUS LUCULLUS

As for Lucullus, his grandfather was a Consul, and so was Metellus (surnamed Numidicus, because of his conquest of Numidia) his uncle by the mother's side. His father notwithstanding was convict of felony, for robbing the treasure of the state whilst he was officer: and Cœcilia his mother was reported to have led an unchaste life. But for Lucullus self, before he bare office, or rule in matters of state: the first thing he touched and took in hand for the cause of his country was, the accusation of Servilius the soothsayer (who before had accused his father) for that he also had dealt falsely in his office, and deceived the common wealth. And this the Romans thought very well handled of him, insomuch as a pretty while after there was no other talk in Rome but of that matter, as though it had been a notable valiant act done by him. For otherwise, though privately they had no just occasion, yet they thought it a noble deed to accuse the wicked, and it pleased them as much to see the young men put law-breakers in suit, as to see a notable good course of a dog at a hare. Howbeit there followed such stir and banding upon this suit, that some were very sore hurt, and other slain in the market-place: but in fine, Servilius was cleared and quite dismissed. Lucullus was very eloquent,

Lucullus parents

Lucullus' eloquence and studies

well spoken, and excellently well learned in the Greek and Latin tongue: insomuch as Sulla dedicated unto him the commentaries of all his doings which himself had collected, as to one that could better frame a whole history thereof, and couch it more eloquently together in writing. For he had not only a ready tongue to utter that he would speak, and plead his matters with great eloquence, as other be seen to do, having matters of suit or open audience:

> Like tonny fish they be, which swiftly dive and dop,
> Into the depth of ocean sea, withouten stay or stop.

But afterwards also when ye take them out of their common practice and pleadings,

> Then are they graveld straight withouten grace or skill,
> Their eloquence lies then in dyke, and they themselves be still.

For Lucullus had studied humanity from his youth, and was well learned in all the liberal sciences: but when he came to elder years, to refresh his wit (after great troubles) he fell to the study of philosophy, which quickened the contemplative part of his soul, and mortified, or at the least betimes bridled the ambitious and active part, specially after the dissension betwixt him and Pompey. But to acquaint you better with his learning yet, it is said, that when he was a young man, he laid a great wager with Hortensius the orator, and Sisenna the historiographer (in jest as it were at the first, but afterwards it fell to good earnest), that he would write the breviary of the

Marsian wars in verse or prose, in the Latin or Greek tongue, which soever fell to his lot: and I think his hap was to do it in prose in the Greek tongue, because we find a little Greek story extant of the wars of the Romans against the Marsians. He dearly loved his brother Marcus Lucullus, as appeared by many manifest proofs: but the chiefest and most noted proof among the Romans was this. Himself was elder than his brother Marcus, and yet for all that would never sue to bear office in the common wealth, nor accept any before his brother, but tarried always till he should be chosen, and let his own time pass over. This great curtesy to his brother so wan the people's hearts, as Lucius being absent, they chose him Ædilis, and his brother Marcus with him for his sake. He was in the flower of his youth in the time of the Marsians' wars, wherein he did many wise and valiant deeds. The cause notwithstanding that moved Sulla to make choice of him, was rather for his constancy, and good courteous nature, than for any other respect. For when Sulla had once won him, he ever after employed him continually in his most weighty causes: as in a commission specially, he gave him to coin money. For indeed part of the money that Sulla spent in the wars against King Mithridates, was coined by Lucullus' commandment within the country of Peloponnesus: whereupon they were called Lucullian pieces, and were current a long time amongst the soldiers, to buy such things as they stood in need of, and never refused by any. Sulla being afterwards at Athens, the stronger by land, but the weaker by sea, so as his enemies cut off his victuals from him: sent

Lucullus' love to his brother Marcus

Lucullus gave laws to the Cyrenians

Lucullus into Egypt and Libya to bring him such ships as he found in those parts. It was in the deep of winter, and yet he spared not to sail with three brigantines of Greece, and as many galliots of the Rhodians, putting himself not only to the danger of the sea in so long a voyage, but of his enemies in like manner: who knowing themselves to be the stronger, went sailing everywhere with a great navy. But for all these dangers, he first arrived in the Isle of Creta, and wan their goodwills. From thence went to the city of Cyrené, where he found the inhabitants turmoiled with civil wars, and continual oppressions of tyrants: from which troubles he delivered them, and gave them laws to establish government amongst them, putting them in remembrance of Plato's words spoken to their ancestors in old time, in the spirit of a prophecy. For when they prayed Plato to write them laws, and to appoint them some form of government for their common wealth, he made them answer: it was a hard thing to give laws to so rich and fortunate people as they were. For to say truly, as nothing is harder to be ruled, than a rich man: so contrarily, nothing readier to receive counsel and government, then a man in adversity. This lesson framed the Cyrenians at that time to be more civil and obedient to the laws Lucullus gave them. When he departed thence, he coasted towards Egypt, where he lost the more part of his ships by pirates: but for his own person, scaping their hands, he was very honourably received in the city of Alexandria. For all the king's army came to meet him at sea, gallantly trimmed and appointed, as they were wont to welcome home the king when

he returned from any voyage by sea: and King Ptolemy himself being very young at that time, gave him as honourable entertainment as he possibly could. For amongst other honours that he did him, he lodged him in his court, and defrayed his ordinary diet, where never strange captain was lodged before: and did not only spend the ordinary allowance in feasting of him which he used unto others, but commanded four times as much provision more to be made as he had before. Notwithstanding, Lucullus took no more than was reasonable for his person: nor yet would he receive any manner of gift, although the king had sent him presents to the value of fourscore talents. And which more is, would not so much as go see the city of Memphis, nor any other of the famous monuments and wonderful sights in Egypt, saying: that it was for a man that travelled up and down for his pleasure, and had leisure withal, to see such things, but not for him that had left his captain in the field, at the siege of the walls of his enemies. To conclude, this young King Ptolemy would in no case fall in friendship with Sulla, fearing lest he should thereby put himself into wars: but gave him men and ships to bring him into Cyprus. And as he was ready to embark, the king bidding him farewell, and embracing him, gave him a goodly rich emerald set in gold, which Lucullus at the first refused, until the king shewed him his picture graven in it: and then accepted the gift, fearing lest the utter refusal might cause the king think he went away discontented, and should perhaps therefore lay an ambush by sea for him. Thus having gotten a certain number of ships together of the port towns thereabouts, over

Lucullus' journey into Egypt

Fimbria besieged Mithridates

and besides such as the pirates and sea-rovers had hidden, being part of their spoils, and bestowed with their receitors, went on with them into Cyprus, where he understood that his enemies lay close in certain creeks under the foreland, watching to board him as he sailed by. Whereupon he unrigged and bestowed his ships in docks, and sent word to all the port towns thereabouts, that he was determined to winter there: and therefore willed them to provide him victuals and other necessary munition to be in readiness against the spring. But in the meanwhile, when he saw time convenient, he put his whole fleet again to the sea with all possible speed, went himself away, and in the daytime carried a low sail, but in the night packt on all the cloth he could for life: so by this crafty fetch, he wan Rhodes, and lost not one ship. The Rhodians they also furnished him with ships: and besides them, he so persuaded the Cnidians and the inhabitants of the Isle of Cos, that they forsook King Mithridates, and went to make wars with him against them of the Isle of Samos. But Lucullus himself alone drave King Mithridates' men out of Chios, restored the Colophonians again to liberty: and took Epigonus the tyrant prisoner, who had kept them in bondage. Now about that time, Mithridates was compelled to forsake the city of Pergamus, and to retire to the city Pitané, within the which Fimbria kept him besieged very straitly by land. Wherefore Mithridates having the sea open upon him, sent for his force and navy out of all parts, not daring to hazard battell against Fimbria, who was very valiant, of a venturous nature, and at that time moreover was himself a conqueror. Fimbria per-

ceiving what Mithridates meant, and having no power by sea of his own: sent straight to Lucullus to request him to come with his navy into those parts to his aid, for the overcoming of this king, the greatest and most cruel enemy that ever the Roman people had. Because that so notable a prey, which they followed with such danger and trouble, should not escape the Romans, while they had him in their hands, and was come himself within their danger: and that therefore he should so much the more hearken unto it, because that if it fortuned Mithridates to be taken, no man should win more honour and glory by his taking, than he that had stopped his passage, and laid hands on him, even as he thought to have fled. And thereby should the praise of this noble victory run in equality between them: the one that had driven him from land, and the other that had stopped his passage by sea. And furthermore, that the Romans would nothing regard all the famous battels and victories of Sulla in Greece, which he had won before the cities of Chæronea and Orchomen: in comparison of taking the king. This was the effect of Fimbria's message sent unto Lucullus, wherein there was nothing, in the which there was not great likelihood. For there is no man that can doubt of it, but if Lucullus would have believed him at that time (and have gone thither with his ships to stop the haven's mouth of the city, in the which Mithridates was besieged, considering also that he was so near at hand) this war had taken end there, and the world besides had then been delivered of infinite troubles which fell out afterwards. But whether Lucullus preferred the consideration and

in Pitane

Lucullus would not aid Fimbria

respect he had unto Sulla, whose lieutenant he was, before all other due regard of private or common benefit: or that he detested and abhorred Fimbria as a cursed person, who not long before had through his wicked ambition imbrued his hands in the blood of his captain: or else, that it was through the secret providence and permission of the gods, that he spared Mithridates at that time, to the end he might be reserved as a worthy enemy, against whom he might afterwards shew his valure. Howsoever it was, it so fell out that he hearkened not unto Fimbria's message, but gave Mithridates time and leisure to fly, and finally to scorn all Fimbria's force and power. But Lucullus self alone afterwards overcame the king's army by sea, once near unto the head of Lectum, which is on the coast of Troad: and another time near unto the Isle of Tenedos, where Neoptolemus, Mithridates' lieutenant by sea, lay in wait for him with a far greater number of ships than he had. And yet so soon as Lucullus had descried him, he sailed before all his navy being admiral, in a galley of the Rhodes, at five owers to a bank, whereof one Demagoras was maister, a man well affected to the service of the Romans, and very skilful in battell by sea. And when Neoptolemus on the other side rowed against him with great force, commanding his pilot that he should so order his galley, that he might stem him right in the prow: Demagoras fearing the full meeting of the king's galley which was very strong and heavy, and furthermore well armed with points and spurs of brass before, durst not encounter her with his prow, but nimbly made his galley to wind about, and turned his poop towards

him. Whereby the galley being low at that end, received the blow without hurt, considering that they hit upon the dead works, and those parts which are always above water. In the meantime Lucullus' other ships were come, who commanding his maister to turn the beakhead of his galley forward, did many famous acts: so that he made his enemies fly, and drave Neoptolemus away. And departing from thence, went to seek out Sulla even as he was ready to pass over the seas, about Cherronesus: helped him to waft his army, and so passed him over with safety. Afterwards when peace was concluded, and that King Mithridates was come into his realm and countries again, which lie upon the Sea Maior: Sulla condemned the province of Asia to pay the sum of twenty thousand talents for a fine, by reason of their rebellion. And for levying of this fine, left Lucullus there with commission to coin money: which was a great comfort and hearts' ease unto the cities of Asia, considering the extremity that Sulla had used towards them. For in so grievous and odious a commission unto them all, as that was: Lucullus did not only behave himself uprightly and justly, but also very favourably and courteously. For, as touching the Mytilenians that were openly in arms against him, he was very willing they should know their fault, and that for satisfaction of the offence they had committed taking Marius' part, they should suffer some light punishment. And seeing that they were furiously bent to continue in their naughtiness, he went against them, and having overcome them in battell, compelled them to keep within their walls, and laid siege unto their city, where he used this policy

Lucullus put to flight Neoptolemus by sea

Lucullus' stratagem at Mytilene

with them. At noon days he launched into the sea, in the view of all the Mytilenians, and sailed towards the city of Elæa: howbeit in the night time secretly returned back, and making no noise, laid an ambush near unto the city. The Mytilenians mistrusting nothing, went out the next morning very rashly without order, and without any manner watch or ward, to spoil the camp of the Romans, supposing every man had been gone: but Lucullus coming suddenly upon them, took a great number prisoners, slew about five hundred such as resisted, and wan six thousand slaves, with an infinite quantity of other spoil. Now did the gods happily preserve Lucullus, that he was no partaker at that time of the wonderful miseries and troubles, which Sulla and Marius made poor Italy suffer, even then when he was occupied in the wars of Asia: and yet notwithstanding his absence, he was in as good credit and favour with Sulla, as any of his friends about him. For as we have said before, he dedicated his commentaries unto him, for the goodwill he bare him, and by his last will and testament appointed him tutor unto his son, leaving Pompey out: which seemeth to be the first occasion of the quarrel and grudge that fell out afterwards between them, because they were both young men, and vehemently desirous of honour. Shortly after the death of Sulla, Lucullus was chosen Consul with Marcus Cotta, about the threescore Olympiad: and then they began to revive the matter again, that it was very needful to make wars against Mithridates, and specially Marcus Cotta, who gave out that it was not ended, but only slept for a while. Wherefore, when the Consuls came to draw lots what

provinces they should take charge of, Lucullus was marvellous sorry that the province of Gaul, lying between the Alps and Italy, fell to his lot: because he thought it no country wherein any great exploits were to be done: and again, the glory of Pompey grieved him greatly, whose honour daily increased by the famous battels he wan in Spain. So that it was most certain, that so soon as Pompey had ended the wars there, they would have chosen him general in the wars against Mithridates. Wherefore, when Pompey sent to Rome in earnest manner, to require money to make pay to his soldiers, writing to the Senate, that if they did not send him money the sooner, he would leave both Sertorius and Spain behind him, and bring his army back into Italy: Lucullus made all the means he could to have it quickly sent him, fearing lest he should return into Italy upon any occasion, while he was Consul. For he thought that if he returned again to Rome with so great an army, he would easily do what him lust: and the rather, because that Cethegus and he could not agree, who at that time bare all the sway and rule at Rome, because he spake and did all that pleased the common people, being a vicious liver, and dissolutely given, for which cause Lucullus hated him. But there was another common orator among the people called Lucius Quintius, and he would have had all Sulla's doings revoked and broken: a matter to alter even the whole state of the common wealth, and to turmoil the city of Rome again with civil dissension, which then lived quietly and in good peace. This Lucius Quintius, Lucullus talked withal apart to persuade him, and openly reproved him with such words,

Pompey and Lucullus

Lucullus' ambition to make wars

that he was dissuaded from his evil purpose, and by reason ruled his rash ambition, handling it both wisely and as cunningly as he could possible (for the safety of the common wealth) because it was the beginning of a disease, from whence infinite troubles were like to grow. While these things were thus in hand, news came that Octavius the governor of Cilicia was dead. Straight whereupon many put forward themselves to sue for this charge, and to court Cethegus, as the only man who above all other might make any man officer whom he thought good. Now for Lucullus he made no great reckoning of the government of Cilicia in respect of the country, but because Cappadocia was hard adjoining to it, and persuading himself that if he could obtain the government thereof, they would give none other (but himself) the authority to make wars with Mithridates: he determined to procure all the means he could, that none should have it but himself. And having proved sundry ways, was compelled in the end, against his own nature, to practise a mean neither comely nor honest, and yet the readiest way he could possibly devise to obtain his desire. There was a woman in Rome at that time called Præcia, very famous for her passing beauty, and also for her pleasant grace in talk and discourse, howbeit otherwise unchaste after curtesan manner. But because she employed the credit and favour of them that frequented her company, to the benefit and service of the common wealth, and of them that loved her: she wan the report (besides her other excellent commendable graces) to be a very loving woman, and ready to favour and further any good enterprise, and it wan

her great fame and reputation. But after she had once won Cethegus, (who ruled all the common wealth at his pleasure) and brought him to be so far in fancy with her, that he could not be out of her sight: then had she all the whole power and authority of Rome in her hands, for the people did nothing but Cethegus preferred it, and Cethegus did whatever Præcia would will him to. Thus Lucullus sought to come in favour with her, sending her many presents, and using all other courtesies he could offer unto her: besides that it seemed a great reward for so proud and ambitious a woman as she, to be sued unto by such a man as Lucullus was, who by this means came to have Cethegus at his commandment. For Cethegus did nothing but commend Lucullus in all assemblies of the people, to procure him the government of Cilicia: who after it was once granted him, had then no need of the help neither of Præcia, nor yet of Cethegus. For the people wholly of themselves with one consent did grant him the charge to make war with Mithridates, because he knew better how to overcome him, than any other captain, and because that Pompey was in the wars with Sertorius in Spain, and Metellus also grown too old, both which two were the only men that could deservedly have contended for this office with him. Nevertheless, Marcus Cotta his fellow Consul, made such suit to the Senate, that they sent him also with an army by sea, to keep the coasts of Propontis, and to defend the country of Bithynia. Thus, Lucullus having his commission, went into Asia with one legion only, the which he levied anew at Rome: and when he was come thither, he took the rest

against Mithridates

Mithridates' army against Lucullus

of the strength he found there, which were men marred and corrupted altogether of long time, through covetousness and delicacy of the country. For amongst others, were the bands which they called the Fimbrian bands, men given over to self-will, and very ill to be ruled by martial discipline, because they had lived a long time at their own liberty, without all obedience to any man. They were those self soldiers that together with Fimbria slew their general Flaccus, Consul of the Roman people, and that afterwards betrayed Fimbria himself, and forsook him, leaving him unto Sulla, being mutiners, traitors, and wicked people: howbeit otherwise very valiant, well trained, and painful soldiers. Notwithstanding, Lucullus in short time bridled their boldness meetly well, and reformed the others also, who before had never proved (in my opinion) what the value of a good captain and general meant, that knew how to command: but were used to flattering leaders, that commanded the soldiers no more than they themselves liked of. Now concerning the state of the enemies, thus it was with them. Mithridates that in the beginning was very brave and bold (as these flourishing sophisters commonly are) undertaking war against the Romans, with a vain unprofitable army, but passing fresh and sumptuous to the eye: after he was once foiled and overcome, with no less shame than loss, when he came to make his second war, he cut off all superfluous pomp, and brought his army into a convenient furniture to serve for wars at all assays. For he put by the confused multitude of sundry nations, the fierce threatenings of the barbarous people in so many sundry tongues,

and clearly banished also the rich graven armours with goldsmiths' work, and set with precious stones, as things that more enriched the enemies that wan them, than gave strength or courage to those that ware them. And contrariwise, caused long stiff swords to be made after the Roman fashion, and great heavy shields, and brought to the field a marvellous number of horse, more ready for service, than rich in furniture. Then he joined six score thousand footmen together, appointed and set in order like unto the battell of the Romans, with sixteen thousand horse of service, besides those that drew his armed carts with scythes about, which were in all to the number of a hundred. And besides all this land preparation, he brought also a great number of ships and galleys together, which were not decked with goodly golden pavilions, as at the first, neither with stoves nor baths, nor with chambers and cabbons, curiously hanged for ladies and gentlewomen: but furnished full of armour, artillery, and slings, and with money also to pay the soldiers. With all this army and preparation, he went first to invade Bithynia, where the cities received him very gladly, and not those only, but all the other cities of Asia wholly: the which were fallen again into their former miseries and diseases, by the cruelty of the Roman farmers and usurers, who raising taxes and imposts upon them, made them abide untolerable things. It is true that Lucullus drave them away afterwards, like the Harpyæ, which took the meat out of the poor men's mouths: howbeit at that time he did no more, but brought them to be more reasonable by the persuasions he used unto them,

Mithridates' army

Cotta overcome by Mithridates

and qualified a little the inclination of the people unto rebellion, being every one of them in manner willing to revolt. Now Lucullus being busy about these matters, Marcus Cotta the other Consul (and his companion) supposing that the absence of Lucullus was a fit occasion offered him to do notable service, prepared to fight with Mithridates. And although he had news brought him from sundry places, that Lucullus was with his army in Phrygia, and coming towards him: yet notwithstanding, imagining that he had the honour of triumph assured already in his hands, and because Lucullus should be no partaker of it, he advanced forwards to give battell. But Mithridates overcame him both by sea and by land: so that Cotta by sea lost three score of his ships with all the men in them, four thousand footmen by land, and was after with shame shut up and besieged in the city of Chalcedon, remaining there hopeless to escape, but by Lucullus' only aid and means. Howbeit there were in Lucullus' camp, that were very earnest with him to leave Cotta, and to go farther, assuring him that he should find the realm of Mithridates both without men of war, or any defence at all: so that he might easily be lord of the whole. And these were the words of the soldiers that spited Cotta, because his foolish rashness and fond imagination had not only brought those men to the shambles to be slain and cast away, whom he had the leading of: but had let them also, that they could not overcome him, and end this war without blows, for that they were driven to go to his help. Howbeit Lucullus making an oration unto them, answered, that he had rather save the life of one Roman citizen, than win all

that his enemies had in their power. And when Archelaus, (who had been Mithridates' lieutenant in Bœotia in the first wars against Sulla, and now in the second war took part with the Romans) assured him that so soon as they saw him in the realm of Pontus, they would all rise against Mithridates, and yield themselves unto him: Lucullus answered him thus, that he would not shew himself more fearful, than the good hunters which never suffer the beast to recover his den. And when he had so said, he marched with his army towards Mithridates, having in all his camp thirty thousand footmen, and two thousand five hundred horse. When he came so near unto his enemies, that he might easily at eye discern all their host, he wondered at the great multitude of soldiers that were in their camp, and was in mind to give battell, supposing yet that the better way was to prolong time, and draw these wars out in length. But one Marius a Roman captain, whom Sertorius had sent out of Spain unto Mithridates with a certain number of soldiers, came forwards, and provoked him to battell. Lucullus for his part did put his men also in a readiness to fight. But even as both battells were prepared to join, the element opened upon the sudden, without any shew of change of weather discerned before, and they plainly saw a great flake of fire fall between both armies, in form and shape much like to a tunne, and of the colour of molten silver. This celestial sign put both the armies in such a fear, as they both retired, and fought not a stroke: and this wonderful sight fortuned (as it appeared) in a place of Phrygia, called Otryæ. Now Lucullus afterwards considering with himself, that there was

A flame of fire fel between both armies

Mithridates besiegeth Cyzicus

no riches nor provision so great in the world, that could suffice to victual so many thousands of people as Mithridates had in his camp any long time together, having his enemies' camp so lying before them: willed that one of the prisoners should be brought into his tent, and first of all he inquired of him, how many of them lay together in a cabin, then what corn he had left in their cabin. And when the prisoner had answered to all his demands, he returned him to prison, and sent for another: then for a third, and questioned with them all as he had done with the first. Then comparing the store of their corn, and other proportion of victuals they had, with the number of men the same should maintain: he found that all would be spent in three or four days at the utmost. Whereupon he relied on his first determination, to delay time without hazard of battell. So he caused a marvellous deal of wheat to be brought into his camp out of every quarter, that the same being thoroughly victualled, he might easily tarry the occasion which his enemies' necessity should offer him. Mithridates in the meantime, sought which way he might take the city of the Cyzicenians, who had been overthrown before with Cotta at the battell of Chalcedon, where they had lost three thousand men, and ten of their ships. And because that Lucullus should not understand of his enterprise, Mithridates stale away by night after supper, taking the opportunity of a dark rainy night, and marched thitherward with such speed, that he was before the city of Cyzicus by break of day, and pitched his camp, where the temple of the goddess Adrastia standeth, which is the goddess of fatal destiny. Lucullus receiving intelligence of

Mithridates' departure from his camp, followed him straightways step by step, and being glad that he was not met withal of his enemies in disorder, lodged his army in a village called Thracia, in a place of great advantage for him, and commodiously seated also upon the highways, and throughfare of the neighbours thereabouts, by the which they must come of necessity to victual Mithridates' camp. Wherefore Lucullus wisely foreseeing what would follow: would not keep his purpose secret from his soldiers, but after he had well trenched and fortified his camp, called them to council, and there making an oration unto them, told them openly by manifest demonstration of assured hope, that ere many days passed, he would give victory into their hands, and that without loss of one drop of blood. In the mean season, Mithridates environed the Grecians round about by land, having divided his army into ten camps, and stopped up the mouth of the arm of the sea, which divideth the city from firm land, with his ships from one side to another. Now the Cyzicenians were valiant men, and determined to abide all extremity for the Romans' sakes: but one thing only troubled them much, that they knew not what was become of Lucullus, neither could they hear any news of him, though his camp stood in such a place, where they might easily discern it from the city. But Mithridates' soldiers deceived them, for shewing them the Romans' camp that lay above hard by them, said unto them: Do ye see yonder camp there? They are the Medes, and the Armenians, whom Tigranes hath sent to the aid of Mithridates. These words put the Cyzicenians in a marvellous fear, seeing such a

The stratagem of Mithridates' soldiers

A wonderful token of a cow

multitude of enemies dispersed round about them: that when Lucullus should come to their aid, he could not well tell which way to pass. Yet at the length they heard of Lucullus' approach, by one called Demonax, whom Archelaus sent unto them, but they would not believe him at the first, taking it for a tale, only to make them be of good courage, and valiantly abide the fury of the siege: until such time as a little boy of theirs, escaped from the enemies that before had taken him prisoner, was come again unto them. Of whom they inquired where Lucullus was: the boy laughed at them, thinking they jested to ask that question of him. But when he saw they were in good earnest, he shewed them the Romans' camp with his finger: then they believed it indeed, and were courageous again. There is a lake near unto the city of Cyzicus called Dascylitis, and it is navigable with convenient big boats. Lucullus took one of the greatest of them, put it in a cart, and so carried it to the sea, and there put as many soldiers in her as she could well carry, who by night entered into the city, the scout of the enemies never descrying them. This small supply did marvellously comfort the besieged Cyzicenians: and it seemeth that the gods, delighting to see their noble courage, would further increase and assure the same, by many manifest tokens which they sent from heaven, and specially by one which was this. The day of the feast of Proserpina was at hand, and the citizens had never a black cow to offer in solemn sacrifice, as their ancient ceremonies required: so they made one of paste, and brought it hard unto the altar. Now, the cow that was vowed to this sacrifice, and

which they reared up of purpose to serve for that day, was feeding amongst the herd of the city in the fields, on the other side of the arm of the sea. But that day she kept alone from all the rest of the herd, and swam over the arm of the sea, and came into the city: where she went of herself unto the place of the sacrifice. Furthermore, the goddess Proserpina herself appeared unto Aristagoras in his dream, secretary of the state and common wealth of the Cyzicenians, and said unto him: I am come hither to bring the flute of Libya, against the trumpet of Pont, and therefore tell the citizens from me, that I will them to be of good courage. The next morning when the secretary had told them his vision, the Cyzicenians marvelled much at the goddess' words, and could not imagine what they meant. Howbeit at the break of day there rose a great whistling wind, that made the sea billows rise very high: and the king's engines of battery which were brought to the walls of the city to pluck them down (being wonderful works that one Niconides a Thessalian engineer had made and devised) began to make such a noise, and to break in pieces by the roughness of the wind, that a man might easily judge what would follow upon it. Then all at one instant, the south wind was become so vehement big, that in a moment it burst all these engines asunder, and specially a tower of wood of the height of a hundred cubits, which the wind shook so vehemently, that it overthrew it to the ground. And it is said furthermore, that in the city of Ilium the goddess Minerva appeared unto divers in their sleep, all in a sweat, and shewing part of her veil torn, as if she had been newly

that] came to offer herself

Extreme famine in Mithridates' camp

returned from giving aid unto the Cyzicenians: in confirmation whereof, the inhabitants of Ilium have a pillar yet unto this day, whereupon this matter is written for a perpetual memory. Now was Mithridates marvellous sorry for the breaking and loss of his engines, by means whereof, the Cyzicenians had escaped the danger of assault, and of the siege in like manner, until he truly understood of the great famine that was in his camp, and the extreme dearth to be such, as the soldiers were compelled to eat man's flesh, which (his captains abusing him) had for a time kept secret from his knowledge. But when he was informed of the troth indeed, he left off his vain ambition obstinately to continue siege: knowing well that Lucullus made not wars with threats and bravery, but (as the common proverb sayeth) leapt on his belly with both his feet, that is to say, he did what he could possible to cut off all the victuals from him. And therefore one day when Lucullus was gone to assault a castle that troubled him very near unto his camp: Mithridates because he would not lose that opportunity, sent the most part of his horsemen to get victuals in Bithynia, with all his carts, and beasts of carriage, and his most unprofitable footmen. Lucullus hearing thereof, returned again the self same night unto his camp, and the next morning betimes being in the winter season, followed them by the track with ten ensigns of footmen only and all his horsemen. But the snow was so deep, the cold so terrible sharp, and the weather so rough, that many of his soldiers not being able to abide it, died by the way. For all that he marched on still, till he overtook his enemies about the river of Rhyndacus, where he

gave them such an overthrow, that the very women came out of the city of Apollonia, and went to steal the victuals they had loden, and strip the dead, which were a marvellous great number, as a man may judge in such a case: and nevertheless there were taken six thousand horse of service, an infinite number of beasts for carriage, and fifteen thousand men besides, all which spoil he brought to his camp, and passed hard by the camp of his enemies. But I wonder much at the historiographer Sallust, who writing of this matter sayeth, that here was the first time that ever the Romans saw any camels. Methinks it strange how he should think so, that they who long before had overcome Antiochus the Great under Scipio, and the others that a little before had fought against Archelaus, near unto the cities of Orchomen and Chæronea, should not have seen camels. But to return again to our matter. Mithridates being feared with this overthrow, resolved with himself immediately to fly, with all the speed he could possibly make: and to entertain and stay Lucullus for a time behind him, determined to send Aristonicus his admiral with his army by sea, into the sea of Greece. But as Aristonicus was ready to hoise sail, his own men betrayed him, and delivered him into the hands of Lucullus, with ten thousand crowns which he carried with him, to corrupt if he could part of the Romans' army. Mithridates hearing of this, fled by sea, leaving the rest of his army by land in the hands of his captains, to be brought away by them as well as they could. Lucullus followed unto the river of Granicus, where he set upon them, and after he had slain twenty thousand of them, took

Lucullus overthrew Mithridates' horsemen

Lucullus dream

an infinite number prisoners. And they say there died in that wars, what soldiers, what slaves, what lackeys, and other stragglers that followed the camp, about the number of three hundred thousand people. This done, Lucullus returned to the city of Cyzicus, where after he had spent some days, enjoying the glory due unto him, and received the honourable entertainment of the Cyzicenians: he went to visit the coast of Hellespont, to get ships together, and to prepare an army by sea. And passing by Troad, they prepared his lodging within the temple of Venus: where, as he slept in the night, it seemed to him he saw the goddess appear before him, which said these verses unto him:

> O Lion fierce and stout: why sleepest thou so sound?
> Since at thy hand so fair a prey is ready to be found.

Herewith he rose incontinently out of his bed, being yet dark night, and calling his friends to him, told him the vision he had in his dream: and about that very time also there came some unto him from the city of Ilium, that brought him news of fifteen galleys of King Mithridates, having five owers to every bank, that were seen in the haven of the Achaians, and that sailed towards the Isle of Lemnos. Whereupon Lucullus took ship straight, went and took them every one: for at his first coming he slew the captain called Isidorus, and went afterwards to the other mariners that lay at anker on the coast side, who seeing him come, drew towards land with their ships, in purpose to run them all ashore, and fighting above hatches, hurt many of Lucullus' soldiers, because they could not compass them in behind, and for that also the

place where they had laid their ships was such, as there was no way to force them before, their galleys floating in the sea as they did, and the others being fastened to the land as they were. Lucullus with much ado all this notwithstanding, found means in the end to put ashore certain of the best soldiers he had about him, in a place of the isle where they might easily land. These soldiers went straight and set upon the enemies behind, slew some of them even at their first coming, and compelled the rest to cut asunder the cables that fastened the galleys to the banks. But when they thought to fly from land, the galleys bruised and brake one another: and that worst of all was, ran upon the points and spurs of Lucullus' galleys. And so many of them that stood above hatches were slain, the rest taken prisoners, amongst whom, Marius the Roman captain was brought unto Lucullus, whom Sertorius had sent out of Spain unto Mithridates. He had but one eye, and Lucullus had commanded his men before they fought, not to kill any of his enemies that had but one eye, because Marius should not die so happy a death, as to be slain, but that he should die some shameful death, and be condemned by order of law. That done, Lucullus went in person with all the speed he could possible to follow Mithridates, hoping to find him yet upon the coast of Bithynia, where Voconius should have stayed him: for he had sent this Voconius before with a certain number of ships unto the city of Nicomedia, to stop him from flying. But he tarried so long in the Isle of Samothracia sacrificing to the gods of the same, and to be received into the fraternity of their religion, that he could

Lucullus overcame Mithridates' navy

Mithridates in great danger

never after come near: Mithridates to stop him from flying, having already made sail with all the whole fleet, and hasting with all possible speed to recover the realm of Pontus, before Lucullus could return from whence he went. But in sailing thitherwards, he met with such a terrible storm, that carried part of his ships so away, that they ran straggling to seek their fortune, and part of them splitted and drowned outright: so that all the coasts and rivers thereabouts, for many days after, were full of dead bodies and shipwracks cast ashore by waves of the sea. Now for Mithridates' own person, he was in a ship of great burthen, the which for her greatness could not sail near the shore, nor recover land, she was also very evil to be guided by the pilots in so boisterous a storm: the mariners besides were put out of all their skill and knowledge: and the ship herself moreover took in such store of water, and was so heavily charged withal, that they durst no more put her out to the sea. By reason whereof Mithridates was compelled to go aboard a little pinnace of pirates, and to put himself and his life into their hands, by whose help in the end, (beyond all expectation, but not without great danger) he got to land, and recovered the city of Heraclea in the realm of Pontus. Now here is to be noted, that the great bravery Lucullus shewed unto the Senate of Rome, fell out according to his imagination by the favour of the gods. For when the Senate had appointed for ending of these wars to prepare a great navy of ships, and therewithal had given order also for three thousand talents: Lucullus stayed them by letters that they should not do it, writing bravely unto them, that without all this

charge and great preparation he would be strong enough to drive Mithridates from the sea, with the only ships he would borrow of their friends and confederates. And indeed, through the special favour of the gods, he brought it so to pass: for they say, that this terrible storm that destroyed the army of Mithridates was raised up by Diana, being offended with the men of the realm of Pontus, because they had destroyed her temple in the city of Priapos, and had carried away her image. Now there were divers that counselled Lucullus to defer the rest of this war, until another season: but notwithstanding all their persuasions, he went through the country of Galatia and Bithynia to invade the realm of Mithridates. In the which voyage, at the first beginning he lacked victuals, so that there were thirty thousand men of Galatia following his camp, that carried every one of them a bushel of wheat on their shoulders: howbeit entring farther into the country, and conquering the whole, there was such exceeding plenty of all things, that an ox was sold in his camp but for a drachma, and a slave at four times as much. And of all other spoil there was such great store, that either they made no reckoning of it, or else they made havock of it, because there was no man to sell it unto, every man having so much of his own. For they ran over all the country unto the city of Themiscyra, and to the valleys that lay upon the river of Thermodon, and stayed nowhere longer than they were a-spoiling. Thereupon the soldiers began to murmur at Lucullus, because he assured all the cities upon composition, and never took any of them by force, nor gave them any means to enrich themselves by spoil: and yet said they, he

upon the sea by tempest

Lucullus' oration and excuse

would make us now go farther, and leave Amisus a great rich city which we might easily take by force, if it were but a little straitly besieged, and lead us into the deserts of the Tibarenians and the Chaldæans to fight against Mithridates. Lucullus passed over all these complaints, aud made no reckoning of them, because he would never have thought that they would have fallen into such mutiny and fury, as afterwards they did: and contrarily excused himself the more carefully to them that blamed and reproved him, for his long tarrying upon towns and villages that were not worth the reckoning, and suffering Mithridates in the meantime to gather a new force and army together at his pleasure. For, said he, that is the mark I shoot at, and that maketh me linger time up and down as I do, wishing nothing more, than that he might once again make himself strong, and bring a second army to the field, that might embolden him to come eftsoones to the fight with us, and run away no more. 'Do you not see, said he, that at his back he hath an infinite number of desert countries, where it is unpossible ever to follow him by the track: and hard by him also the mount Caucasus, and many other unpassable places, which are sufficient not only to hide him alone, but infinite number of other princes and kings besides that would fly battell, and not come to fight? Furthermore, it is but a little way from the country of the Cabirenians unto the realm of Armenia, where Tigranes the king of kings inhabiteth, whose power is so great, that he driveth the Parthians out of Asia, and carrieth whole towns and cities of Greece unto the realm of Media, who hath all Syria and Palestine in his

hands, and hath slain and rooted out the kings and successors of the great Seleucus, and hath carried away their wives and daughters prisoners by force. This great and mighty king is allied unto Mithridates, for he married Mithridates' daughter: and it is not likely that when Mithridates shall come and entreat him to help him in his distress, that Tigranes will refuse him, but rather we must think certainly that he will make wars upon us in his defence. And thus, in making haste to drive out Mithridates, we shall bring ourselves into great danger, to provoke a new enemy, even Tigranes, against us, who of long time hath lurked for a just occasion to make wars with us: and he can have no honester cause to take arms, than to defend and keep a king his neighbour, and so near a kinsman, from utter destruction, and one that is compelled to seek unto him for succour. What need we then to provoke him to procure it, and teach Mithridates (which he purposeth not) to whom he should repair for aid, to make wars against ourselves, and prick him forward, or to say better, put him with our own hands into the way to go seek aid of Tigranes: which of himself he will never do, (thinking it a dishonour unto him) unless we drive him to it for very necessity. Is it not better for us to give him leisure and time, to gather a second force again of himself, and his own people, that we might rather fight with the Colchians, Tibarenians, Cappadocians, and with such other people whom we have so many times overcome: than with the Medes and Armenians?' With this determination Lucullus tarried a great while before the city of Amisus, continuing this siege of purpose, without distressing them at all. Afterwards when winter was past,

to his soldiers

The constancy of a Roman soldier

he left Murena there to continue the siege, and himself with the rest of his army went to meet Mithridates: who had planted his camp near unto the city of Cabira, determining to tarry the Romans' coming, having gathered together again a new army of forty thousand footmen, and four thousand horsemen, in the which he put his most confidence and trust, so that he passed over the river of Lycus, and went and presented battell to the Romans in the plain field. There the horsemen skirmished, and the Romans had the worse: for there was one Pomponius a Roman taken, of great estimation, who was brought unto King Mithridates hurt as he was. Mithridates asked him, if in saving his life, and healing his wounds, he would become his servant and friend. Straight replied Pomponius, with all my heart quoth he, so that thou make peace with the Romans: if not, I will ever be thine enemy. The king esteemed his courage much, and would do him no hurt. And as for Lucullus, he was afraid to come into the plain, because his enemy was the stronger of horsemen: and he doubted also on the other side to take his way by the mountain, because it was very high, uneasy to climb, and full of woods and forests. But as he stood thus doubtful, they took certain Grecians by chance that were fled, and hidden in a cave hard by, among the which there was an old man called Artemidorus, who promised Lucullus if he would believe and follow him, he would bring him into a sure strong place to lodge his camp, where was a castell above the city of Cabira. Lucullus believed the old man's words, wherefore so soon as night came, he raised great fires in his camp, and went his way: and after they had passed certain

strait and dangerous ways of the mountains, he came in the morning unto the place where Artemidorus had promised to bring him. Now the enemies were marvellously amazed when daylight came, to see him there over them, in a place where if he list to fight, he might come upon them with advantage: and if he liked not to stir, it was unpossible to compel him. For he stood indifferent then to hazard battell or not. But in the mean season, they say certain of the king's camp by chance were a hunting the hart. The Romans perceiving that, fell upon them to cut them off by the way: and they began by this means one to charge another in such sort, relief growing still on either side, as Mithridates' men grew the stronger. But the Romans seeing their men fly from the trenches of their camp above, were in such a rage, that they all ran in a choler to Lucullus to pray him he would lead them to battell, and give them a signal to fight. Lucullus, because he would shew them by experience how much the presence and eye of a good wise captain in time of need was worth: commanded them they should not once stir, and he himself in person went down into the valley, where he commanded the first of his men he met withal flying, to stay, and return to the fight again with him. Which they presently did, and all the other in like case: and thus gathering them together again, did easily make their enemies return, that before had them in chase, and drave them back, fighting with them even hard to their own fort. Afterwards upon this return again to his camp, he set his soldiers that fled, unto a certain piece of work to shame them withal, which the Romans are wont to use in such a case: and that is, that he

The sight of a general in battle is of a marvellous force

Lucullus' anger by Olthacus' conspiracy

made them dig a ditch of twelve feet long, being in their shirts, all untrussed, and their other companions present seeing them do it. Now there was in King Mithridates' camp, one Olthacus, prince of the Dardarians (which are certain barbarous people dwelling upon the marishes of Mæotis) a noble gentleman of his person, valiant, and skilful in wars, and a man of very good judgement to do any great enterprise as any that was in all the army, and furthermore a prince of great good grace and entertainment in company, knowing how to fashion himself with all men. This prince, being always at strife with other lords of his country, and contending who should have the first place of honour and favour about the king: went unto Mithridates, and promised him that he would do him notable service, and that was, that he would kill Lucullus. The king was very glad of this promise, and praised him marvellously in secret: howbeit openly of purpose he did him many injuries, because he might have some colour to counterfeit anger and displeasure, and to give way for him to go yield himself unto Lucullus as he did. Lucullus was marvellous glad of him, because he was one of the chiefest men of name in all his camp, and to prove him withal, gave him charge immediately: in the which he behaved himself so well, that Lucullus greatly esteemed his wisdom, and commended his diligence, in such sort that he did him this honour, to call him sometimes unto the council, and make him sit at his board. One day when this Dardarian prince Olthacus thought to have found fit occasion to execute his enterprise, he commanded his footmen to be ready with his horse out of the

trenches of the camp: and at noondays when the soldiers took rest, and slept here and there in the camp, he went unto Lucullus' tent, thinking to have found nobody there to keep him from coming in, considering the familiarity Lucullus shewed him, saying also he had matters of great importance to talk with him of: and sure he had gone in immediately unto him, if sleep that casteth away so many other captains, had not at that time preserved and saved Lucullus that slept. For one of the grooms of his chamber called Menedemus, who by good fortune kept the door of the tent, told him that he came in very ill time, because Lucullus being wearied with travel and lack of sleep, was but then newly laid down to rest. Olthacus whatsoever the other said to him, would not be so answered, but told him he would come in whether he would or not, for he must needs speak with him in a matter of great importance. Menedemus answered him again, that nothing could be of greater importance, nor more necessary, than the preservation of his maister's life and health, who had need to take rest: and with these words, he thrust him back with both his hands. Olthacus was afraid then, and withdrew himself secretly out of the trenches of the camp, took his horse back, and rode straight to Mithridates' camp without his purpose he came for, which was to kill Lucullus. And thus it plainly appeareth, that occasion, and opportunity of time, even in great matters delivereth means, to save or destroy the life of man, like as drugs and medicines given unto the sick and diseased persons. Shortly after, Lucullus sent one of his captains called Sornatius to get victuals, with ten ensigns of footmen.

Lucullus life save by sleep

Lucullus' victory of certain of Mithridates' captains

Whereof Mithridates being advertised, sent presently at his tail one of his captains also, called Menander, unto whom Sornatius gave battell, and slew him with great slaughter of his men beside. And afterwards Lucullus sent another of his lieutenants called Hadrianus with a great company of soldiers, to get victuals into his camp more than he should need. Mithridates did not let slip this occasion, but sent after him two of his captains also called Menemachus and Myron, with a great number of men, as well footmen as horsemen: all which were slain, two only excepted, that brought news back to Mithridates' camp: the which he sought to salve as well as he could, saying that the loss was much less than it was thought for, and that it fortuned through the ignorance and rashness of his lieutenants. But Hadrianus at his return, passed by Mithridates' camp with great pomp and majesty, carrying a huge number of carts loden with corn and spoils he had won: which drave Mithridates self into so great a despair, and all his people into such a fear and trouble, that he presently determined to remove thence. Whereupon, the nobility and such as had place of credit about him, began to send before, and secretly to convey their stuff out of the camp, but utterly prohibiting others to do the same. The rest of the soldiers seeing the stoutness of the king's minions, began to set upon them with open force, not suffering them on the other side once to issue out of the camp. This mutiny grew to such a fury, that they overthrew their carriages and sumpter moyles, and slew them presently down. Amongst others there was slain Dorylaus, one of the chiefest captains of all

their camp, who had nothing about him but a purple gown, for the which they killed him: and Hermæus the priest of the sacrifices was trodden under foot, and smothered at the camp gate, by reason of the multitude of those that fled in so great disorder. The king himself amongst others fled, but having never a one of his guard about him, nor any of the squires of his stable to bring him a horse: Ptolemy, one of the grooms of his chamber, perceiving him in the company of them that fled, lighted off his own horse, and gave him the king, but even in manner too late. For the Romans that followed him were then even hard at his tail: and it was not for lack of speed they missed the taking of him, for they were very near him: but the covetousness of the soldiers was the loss of the prey they had so long sought for, with so great pain and hazard of battels, and deprived Lucullus of the honour and reward of all his victories. For they were so near unto him, that if they had but followed Mithridates never so little farther, they had out of doubt overtaken him, and his horse that carried him away. But one of the moyles that carried his gold and silver (whether by chance, or of pretended policy of Mithridates, as a matter purposely abandoned to them that pursued him) was found in the middest of the highway betwixt him that fled, and the Romans that followed, who stayed there to rob the gold and silver, fighting about it, that Mithridates by that means wan ground so far before them, as they could never after come near him again. And this loss was not all which the covetousness of the soldiers made Lucullus to lose. For, one of the chiefest secretaries of the king being taken,

Mithridates flieth

Mithridates slew his sisters nd wives

called Callistratus, whom Lucullus commanded to be brought unto him to his camp: they that had the charge of him, hearing tell that he had five hundred crowns in a girdle about him, for greediness of them, slew him by the way, and yet notwithstanding Lucullus suffered them to spoil and destroy the whole camp of their enemies. After Mithridates' flight, Lucullus took the city of Cabira, and many other castells and strong places, where he found great treasure, and the prisons full of poor prisoners of the Grecians, and many princes akin unto the king himself, which were thought to be dead long before: and then seeing themselves delivered from this miserable bondage, by the grace and benefit of Lucullus, thought with themselves they were not only taken out of prison, but revived and turned again unto a second life. There was also taken one of King Mithridates' sisters called Nyssa, whose taking fell out profitable for her: because all Mithridates' other wives and sisters whom they placed farthest off, as out of all danger (and sent into a country of greatest safety, near unto the city of Pharnacia) died pitifully, and were miserably slain. For Mithridates sent one of the grooms of his privy chamber unto them called Bacchides, to bring them word that they must all die. Amongst many other noble ladies, there were two of the king's sisters, called Roxana and Statira, which were forty years old apiece, and yet had never been married: and two of his wives also whom he had married, both of the country of Ionia, the one called Berenicé, born in the Isle of Chios, and the other Monimé, in the city of Miletus. Monimé, she was very famous amongst the Gre-

cians: for notwithstanding King Mithridates' importunate dealing, being far in love with her, insomuch as he sent her fifteen thousand crowns at one time, yet she would never give ear unto his suit, until such time as the marriage was agreed upon between them, and that he had sent her his diadem or royal band, and called her by the name and title of queen. This poor lady after the marriage of this barbarous king, had long lived a woeful life, bewailing continually her accursed beauty, that instead of a husband, had procured her a master: and instead of the matrimonial company which a noble woman should enjoy, had gotten her a guard and garrison of barbarous men, that kept her as a prisoner, far from the sweet country of Greece: in change whereof, she had but a dream and shadow of the hoped goods she looked for, having unfortunately left them within her own country she happily enjoyed before. Now when this Bacchides was come unto them, and had commanded them from the king to choose what manner of death they would, and which every one of them thought most easiest, and least painful: Monimé plucked off the royal band from her head, and tying it on a knot about her neck, hung herself, but the band not being strong enough, brake incontinently. Whereupon she cried out: O cursed and wicked tissue, wilt thou not yet serve me to end my sorrowful days? And speaking these words, cast it on the ground and spit upon it, and held out her throat to Bacchides to be cut asunder. The other, Berenicé, she took a cup full of poison, her mother being present, who prayed her to let her have half, the which she did, and they drank it off between

The courage of Monimé

Appius Clodius sent unto Tigranes by Lucullus

them. The force of the poison was strong enough to kill the old mother weak with age, but not so quickly to destroy the daughter: because she had not taken that proportion which would have served her turn, but drew out the pains of her death in length, until such time as Bacchides hasting to despatch her, she in the end did strangle herself. As for the king's two sisters, Roxana and Statira, which were virgins yet unmarried, they say that one of them also drank poison, cursing and detesting the cruelty of her brother: howbeit Statira gave never an evil word, nor was faint-hearted or sorrowful to die, but contrarily did commend and thank her brother highly, that seeing himself in danger, had not yet forgotten them, but was careful to cause them die, before they should fall as slaves into the hands of their enemies, and before they could come to dishonour them, or do them villainy. These pitiful misfortunes went to Lucullus' heart, who was courteous and gentle of nature: nevertheless he went on farther, still following Mithridates at the heels, unto the city of Talaura. And there understanding that he was fled four days before unto Tigranes in Armenia, returned back again, having first subdued the Chaldæans, and the Tibarenians, taken Armenia the less, and brought the cities, castles, and strong places unto his obedience. That done, he sent Appius Clodius unto King Tigranes, to summon him to deliver Mithridates unto him: and himself took his journey towards the city of Amisus, which was yet besieged. The cause why this siege continued long, was the sufficiency and great experience of the captain that

kept it for the king, called Callimachus, who understood so well how all sorts of engines of battery were to be used, and was so subtile besides in all inventions that might serve to defend a place besieged, as he troubled the Romans much in this attempt: but afterwards he was not only met withal, and paid home for all his labour, but also outreached by Lucullus for all his fineness. For where before he had always used to sound the retreat at a certain hour, and to call his men back from the assault to rest them: one day he brake that order on the sudden, and coming to assault the wall, at the first charge wan a piece of it, before those within could come in time to resist them. Callimachus seeing that, and knowing it was now unpossible to keep the city any longer, forsook it. But before his departing he set the city on fire, either for the malice to the Romans, because he would not they should enrich themselves with the sack of so great a city: or else for a policy of war to have the more leisure to save himself, and fly. For no man gave eye to them that fled by sea, because the flame was so great, that it dispersed itself even to the very walls, and the Roman soldiers, they only prepared to spoil. Lucullus seeing the fire without, had compassion of the city within, and would gladly have holpen it, and for the purpose prayed the soldiers quickly to quench it: but not a man would hearken to him, every one gaping after the spoil, making great noise with clashing of harness, and being very loud besides otherwise, till at the length enforced thereunto, he gave the city wholly to spoil, hoping thereby to save the houses from fire, but it fell out

Lucullus wan Amisus

Lucullus' curtesy

clean contrary. For the soldiers themselves in seeking all about with torches and links lighted, to see if anything were hidden: they set a number of houses on fire. So as Lucullus coming into the city the next morning, and seeing the great desolation the fire had made, fell a weeping, saying unto his familiar friends about him: he had oftentimes before thought Sulla happy, howbeit he never wondred more at his good fortune, than that day he did. For Sulla, said he, desiring to save the city of Athens, the gods granted him that favour that he might do it: but I that would fain follow him therein, and save this city, fortune thwarting my desire, hath brought me to the reputation of Mummius, that caused Corinth to be burnt. Nevertheless he did his best endeavour at that time to help the poor city again. For touching the fire, even immediately after it was taken, by God's providence there fell a shower of rain as it was newly kindled, that quenched it: and Lucullus self before he left the city, made a great number of the houses which were spoiled by fire, to be built up again, and courteously received all the inhabitants that were fled, besides them he placed other Grecians there also, that were willing to dwell amongst them, and increased the bounds and confines of the city which he gave them, one hundred and twenty furlongs into the country. This city was a colony of the Athenians, who had built and founded it, in the time that their empire flourished, and that they ruled the seas: by reason whereof, many flying the tyranny of Aristion, went to dwell there, and were made free of the city, as the natural inhabitants of the same. This

towards the city of Amisus

good hap fell upon them, that forsaking their own goods, they went to possess and enjoy the goods of other men: but the very citizens of Athens itself that had escaped from this great desolation, Lucullus clothed them well, and gave them two hundred drachmas apiece, and sent them again into their country. Tyrannion the grammarian was taken at that time, whom Murena begged of Lucullus: and Lucullus having granted him unto him, he made him free, wherein he dealt very discourteously, and did much abuse Lucullus' liberality and gift unto him. For in bestowing this prisoner upon him, who was a famous learned man, he did not mean Murena should take him for a bondman, whereby he should need afterwards to make him free. For seeming to make him free, and restore him to liberty: was no more but to take that freedom and liberty from him, which he had from his birth. But in many other things, and not in that only, Murena laid himself open to the world, that he had not all the parts a worthy captain should have in him. When Lucullus departed from Amisus, he went to visit the cities of Asia, to the end that whilst he was not now occupied with wars, they might have some refreshing of laws and justice. For, by reason that law was not executed of long time in Asia, the poor country was so afflicted, and oppressed with so many evils and miseries: as no man living would scant believe, nor any tongue can well declare. For, the extreme and horrible covetousness of the farmers, customers, and Roman usurers did not only devour it, but also kept it in such bondage and thraldom, that particularly the poor fathers

Lucullus relieveth Asia from extreme usury

were driven to sell their goodly young sons and daughters in marriage, to pay the interest and usury of the money which they had borrowed to discharge their fines withal: and publickly the tables dedicated unto the temples, the statues of their gods, and other church jewels: and yet in the end, they themselves were also judged to be bondmen and slaves to their cruel creditors, to wear out their days in miserable servitude. And yet the worst of all was, the pain they put them to before they were so condemned: for they imprisoned them, set them on the rack, tormented them upon a little brasen horse, set them in the stocks, made them stand naked in the greatest heat of summer, and on the ice in the deepest of winter, so as that bondage seemed unto them a relief of their miseries, and a rest of their torments. Lucullus found the cities of Asia full of such oppressions, but in a short time after he delivered them all that were wrongfully tormented. For first he took order, they should account for the usury that was paid monethly, the hundred part of the principal debt only, and no more. Secondly he cut off all usuries that passed the principal. Thirdly, which was the greatest matter of all, he ordained that the creditor and usurer should enjoy the fourth part of the profits and revenues of his debtor. And he that joined usury with the principal, that is to say, took usury upon usury: should lose the whole. So that by this order, all debts were paid in less than four years, and the owners' lands and revenues set clear of all manner payments. This surcharge of usuries, came off the twenty thousand talents, wherein Sulla had

condemned the country of Asia: the which sum they had paid twice before unto the farmers and collectors of the Romans, who had raised it, still heaping usury upon usury, to the sum of six score thousand talents. Wherefore these collectors and farmers ran to Rome, and cried out upon Lucullus, saying, that he did them the greatest wrong that could be, and by means of money, they procured certain of the common counsellors to speak against him: which they might easily do, because they had divers of their names in their books that dealt in the affairs of the common wealth at Rome. But Lucullus was not only beloved of those countries whom he did good unto, but was wished for and desired also of others, who thought the countries happy that might have such a governor. Now for Appius Clodius, whom Lucullus had sent before from Talaura unto King Tigranes in Armenia, and whose sister at that time was Lucullus' wife: he first took certain of the king's men for guides, who of very malice guided him through the high country, making him fetch a great compass about, by many days' journeys spent in vain: until such time as one of his enfranchised bondmen that was born in Syria, taught him the right way. Whereupon he discharged these barbarous guides, and leaving the wrong ways they had led him, within few days passed over the river of Euphrates, and arrived in the city of Antioch, surnamed Epidaphné. Where he had commandment to abide Tigranes' return, who was then in the country of Phœnicia, where he subdued certain cities, and had some other yet to conquer. Appius in the meantime wan secretly divers of the princes and noble-

Appius Clodius, Lucullus' wive's brother

Tigranes' pride and power

men, that obeyed this Armenian king but for fear, by force, and against their wills, amongst whom was Zarbienus, king of the province of Gordyené: and promised the aid of Lucullus also to many the cities that sent unto him, (which had not long before been subdued and brought into bondage) to whom nevertheless he gave in express charge, that for the time they should not once stir, nor alter anything. For, the rule of these Armenians was intolerable to the Grecians, and specially the pride and arrogancy of the king. Who, by reason of his great property, was grown to such pride and presumption, that whatsoever men did commonly esteem best, and make most reckoning of, he would not only have it, and use it as his own, but also took it that all was made for himself whatsoever: and this great overweening grew, by reason of fortune's special grace and favour towards him. For at the beginning he had but very little, and yet with this little (which few made reckoning of) he conquered many great nations, and plucked down the power of the Parthians as much as any man that ever was before him. He replenished the country of Mesopotamia with Grecian inhabitants, which he brought by force out of Cilicia and Cappadocia, compelling them to inhabit there. He made the Arabians change their manner of living, who are otherwise called the Scenites, as much to say, as tent-dwellers, because they are vagrant people that dwell in no other houses but tents, which they ever use to carry with them, and brought them out of their natural country, and made them follow him, using them for his commodity in trade of merchandise. There

were ever many kings in his court that waited on him: but amongst others, he had four kings that waited continually on his person as his footmen: for when he rode abroad any whither, they ran by his stirrop in their shirts. And when he was set in his chair of state to give audience, they stood on their feet about his chair holding their hands together, which countenance shewed the most manifest confession and tokens of bondage that they could do unto him: as if they had shewed thereby that they resigned all their liberty, and offered their bodies unto their lord and maister, more ready to suffer, than anything to do. Notwithstanding, Appius Clodius being nothing abashed nor feared with all this tragical pomp, when audience was given him: told King Tigranes boldly to his face, that he was come to carry King Mithridates away with him, who was due to the triumph of Lucullus: and therefore did summon him to deliver that king into his hands, or else that he proclaimed wars upon himself. They that were present at this summons, knew well enough that Tigranes (although he set a good countenance of the matter openly with a faint counterfeit laughing) yet hearing these words so boldly and gallantly spoken out of this young man's mouth, was galled to the quick, and hit at the heart. For Tigranes having reigned, (or to say better tyrannically governed) five and twenty years' space, had never heard any bold or frank speech but that. Notwithstanding, he answered Appius, that he would not deliver Mithridates: and if the Romans made wars with him, that he would defend himself. And being greatly offended that Lucullus in his letters gave him not the title, king of kings, but

The boldness of Appius Clodius

Tigranes and Mithridates' meeting

only king simply: in the letters he wrote back to Lucullus again, he did not so much as vouchsafe to call him captain only. But when Appius took his leave, he sent him goodly rich presents which he refused. Whereupon the king sent others again unto him, of the which Appius took a cup only, because the king should not think he refused ought of anger, or ill-will: and so sending all the rest again unto him, made great haste to return to his captain Lucullus. Now Tigranes before that time would not once see King Mithridates his so near kinsman, who by fortune of wars had lost so puissant a kingdom, but proudly kept him under in fenny, marish, and unwholesome grounds, without any honour given unto him, as if he had been a very prisoner indeed: howbeit then he sent for him honourably, and received him with great courtesy. When they were near together in the king's palace, they talked secretly one with another, and excusing themselves, clearing all suspicions conceived between them, to the great hurt of their servants and friends, whom they burthened with all the occasion of unkindness between them: amongst which number Metrodorus the Scepsian was one, a man excellently well learned, eloquent in speech, and one whom Mithridates so much loved and esteemed, that they called him the king's father. Mithridates at the beginning of his wars had sent him ambassador unto Tigranes, to pray aid of him against the Romans. At which time Tigranes said unto him: But what sayest thou to it Metrodorus: what advice wilt thou give me? Metrodorus either because he had regard unto Tigranes' profit, or else because he was loth Mithridates should escape,

answered him again. As ambassador, O king, I would wish you should do it: but as a counsellor, that you should not do it. Tigranes now reported this speech unto Mithridates, not thinking he would have hurt Metrodorus for it, though indeed he presently put him to death upon it. Whereat Tigranes was heartily sorry, and repented him greatly to have told him so much, although he was not altogether the occasion of his casting away, having but only revived Mithridates' evil will before conceived against him. For he had borne him displeasure of a long time, as appeared amongst his secret papers and writings that were taken from him, where he had ordained that Metrodorus should be put to death: but in recompense thereof Tigranes buried his body honourably, sparing no cost at all unto the dead body of him, whom living he had betrayed. There died in King Tigranes' court also an orator called Amphicrates, if he deserve that mention should be made of him, for the city of Athens' sake wherein he was born: for it is said, that when he was banished out of his country, he fled into the city of Seleucia, which standeth upon the river of Tigris. When the inhabitants of the same prayed him to teach them the art of eloquence in their country, he would not vouchsafe it, but answered them proudly, That a platter was too little to hold a dolphin in, meaning that their city was too small a thing to contain it. From thence he went unto Cleopatra, Mithridates' daughter, and King Tigranes' wife, where he was quickly suspected and accused: so that he was forbidden to frequent the Grecians' company any more, which grieved him so much, that he famished himself to death,

Metrodorus' praise and death

Lucullus taketh Sinope in Pontus

and would eat no meat. And that man was also very honourably buried by the Queen Cleopatra, near unto a place called Sapha, as they call it in that country. Now when Lucullus had quieted all things in Asia, and had established good laws among them, he was not careless also of games and pleasant pastimes; but while he was at leisure in the city of Ephesus, he made many games, feasts, wrestlings, and fence plays at the sharp for joy of his victory, delighting all the cities of Asia with them, the which in recompense thereof did institute a solemn feast also in the honour of him, which they called Lucullea, and did celebrate it with great joy, shewing a true and no feigned friendship and goodwill towards him, which pleased him better, and was more to his contentation, than all the honour they could devise to give him. But after that Appius Clodius was returned from his ambassade, and had told Lucullus that he must make wars with Tigranes: Lucullus went back again unto the realm of Pontus, where he took his army which he had left in garrison, and brought it before the city of Sinopé to lay siege unto it, or rather to besiege certain Cilicians that were gotten into the city in the behalf of Mithridates. But when they saw Lucullus come against them, they slew a great number of the citizens, and setting fire on the city, fled their way by night. Lucullus being advertised of it, entered the city, put eight thousand of the Cilicians to the sword which he found there, and restored the natural citizens and inhabitants thereof to all that was theirs. But the original cause that made him to be careful to preserve the city, was this vision he had. He thought

in his night's dream that one came to him, and said, Go a little farther Lucullus, for Autolycus cometh, who is desirous to speak with thee. This dream awaked him, but being awake could not imagine what the vision meant. It was the self same day on the which he took the city of Sinopé, where following the Cilicians that escaped by flying, he found an image lying on the ground upon the seaside, which the Cilicians would have carried away: but they were taken and followed so near, that they had no leisure to ship it. This statue (as it is reported) was one of the goodliest and notablest works of Sthenis the image graver. And some say that it was the image of Autolycus who founded the city of Sinope. For Autolycus was one of the princes that went out of Thessaly with Hercules to go against the Amazons, and he was the son of Deïmachus. And they report that at the return from this voyage, the ship in the which Autolycus was embarked, with Demoleon and Phlogius, made shipwrack upon a rock on the coast of Cherrononesus, where she was cast away: howbeit that he and his men scaping with all their furniture, came to the city of Sinope, which he took from certain Syrians, who came (as they say) of one Syrus the son of Apollo, and of the nymph Sinope Asopus' daughter. Lucullus understanding this matter, called a saying of Sulla to mind, which he wrote in his commentaries: that nothing is more certain, nor that we may give more credit unto, than that which is signified to us by dreams. In the mean season he was advertised that Tigranes and Mithridates were ready to come down into Lycaonia, and Cilicia,

Lucullus' dream

Lucullus goeth against Tigranes with a small company

because they might first enter Asia. Lucullus marvelled much at Tigranes' counsel, that sithence he was minded to war with the Romans, he did not use Mithridates' aid in his wars at such time, as when he was in his best strength and force: and that he did not then join his power with Mithridates, rather than suffer him to be destroyed and overthrown, and afterwards with a cold hope go now to begin a new war, hazarding himself with those that could not help themselves. While these things passed in this sort, Machares, King Mithridates' son, that kept the realm of Bosphorus, sent a crown of gold unto Lucullus, of the weight of a thousand crowns, praying him that he would name him a friend and confederate of the Romans. Whereupon Lucullus thought he was then at the very last end of his first war, and leaving Sornatius with six thousand men to keep the realm of Pontus, he departed with twelve thousand footmen, and less than three thousand horsemen to go to the second war. And herein all the world condemned him, and thought it too rash and light a part of him to go with so small a company to fight with so many warlike nations, and to put himself unto the hazard of so many thousands of horsemen, in a marvellous large country, and of a wonderful length, environed round about with deep rivers and mountains, covered with snow all the year through: so that his soldiers, which otherwise were no special well-trained men, nor obedient to their captain, followed with an evil will, and did stubbornly disobey him. And on the other side the common counsellors at Rome cried out on him continually and openly protested before all the people, that out

of one war he sowed another, which the common wealth had nothing to do withal, and that he looked after none other thing but still to raise new occasions of wars, to the end he might always have armies at his commandment, and never leave the wars, because he would make himself great with the cost and peril of the common wealth. These crying counsellors in the end obtained their purpose, which was: to call home Lucullus again, and to substitute Pompey in his place. But Lucullus for all that, marched on with his army with all the possible speed he could, so that he came in few days unto the river of Euphrates, the which he found very high and rough by reason of the winter season: which troubled him marvellously at that present, doubting lest it would hold him there a long time in finding out of boats, and making of posts and planks to build a bridge to pass over his army. But towards night the water began to fall a little, and in the night fell so much, that the next morning the river was come to her ordinary stream: and moreover, the countrymen themselves discerning certain little islands that appeared unto them in the middest of the watercourse, and the river very calm as a marish round about them, did honour Lucullus as a god, because it was a thing they had never seen chance before, as though at his coming the river had suddenly yielded unto him, and was become gentle to give him safe and easy passage. And because he would not lose that opportunity, he passed over his army immediately: and was no sooner on the other side, but he met with a happy token of good luck, which was this. On the other side of the river, there was a certain number of kine

The strange and sudden fall of the river of Euphrates

A strange thing of a cow

consecrated to Diana Persica, whom the barbarous people inhabiting beyond the river of Euphrates, do reverence and honour above all the other gods: and these kine they employ to none other use, but only to sacrifice them unto this goddess. They wander all about the country where they will, without any manner of tying, or shackling otherwise, having only the mark of the goddess, which is a lamp printed upon their bodies, and they are not easy to be taken when one would have them, but with great ado. One of these consecrated kine, after that Lucullus' army was passed over Euphrates, came to offer herself upon a rock which they suppose is hallowed or dedicate unto this goddess, bowing down her head, and stretching out her neck, like those that are tied short, as if she had come even of purpose to present herself to Lucullus, to be sacrificed as she was. And besides her, he sacrificed a bull also unto the river Euphrates, in token of thanks for his safe passage over. Lucullus the first day did nothing but encamp himself only, on the other side of the river: but the next morning and the other days following, he went farther into the country by the river of Sophené, hurting none that came and yielded unto him, or that willingly received his army. For when his men would have had him to have taken a castle by force, where they said was great store of gold and silver: he shewed them Mount Taurus afar off, and told them it is that which we must rather go to take. As for the things which be in this castle, they be kept for them that vanquish: and going on still with great journeys, passed over the river of Tigris, and so entered the realm of Armenia with a main

army. Now for Tigranes: the first man that ventured to bring him news of Lucullus' coming, had no joy of it: for he cut off his head for his labour. And therefore from thenceforth there durst no man say anything unto him, until such time as he was at the last environed round with fire, which Lucullus' army had raised about him, before he could hear anything thereof. For he was sporting and gauding with his familiars, hearing their flattering tales, that Lucullus indeed were a noble captain, if he durst but tarry Tigranes' coming down in the city of Ephesus only, and how he would straight fly out of Asia, so soon as he might but hear tell of his coming against him with so triumphing an army of so many thousand men. And thus may we see, that like as all bodies and brains, are not alike strong nor able to carry much wine: so in like case, all wits be not resolute and constant, never to do amiss, nor to swerve from reason's bounds in great prosperity. Howbeit in the end, Mithrobarzanes one of Tigranes' familiars, was the next man that enterprised to tell him the truth: whose boldness had little better reward for his news, than the first that was beheaded. For Tigranes sent him immediately with three thousand horse, and a good number of footmen, commanding him that he should bring Lucullus alive unto him, and that furthermore, he should march upon the bellies of his men. Now was Lucullus already camped with part of his army, and the other part coming after, when his scouts brought him news of the barbarous captain's approach: which at the first put him in fear, that if the enemy should come and assail them thus scattered in companies, an

Tigranes sendeth Mithrobarzanes against Lucullus

Sextilius slew Mithrobarzanes

not ranged in battell, and ready to fight, he might overthrow them whilst they were in disorder. And therefore he remained within his camp to fortify the same, and sent Sextilius one of his lieutenants, with a thousand six hundred horse, and as many footmen (or a few more) as well naked as armed: commanding him to approach as near to his enemy as he could without fighting, only to stay him there, until such time as he heard news that all his army was come together into his camp. Sextilius went to do his commandment, but he was compelled to fight (though against his will) Mithrobarzanes came so bravely and lustily to assail him. So was the battell stricken between them, in the which Mithrobarzanes was slain valiantly fighting, and all his men either broken or killed, few excepted, that only by flying saved themselves. After this overthrow, Tigranes forsook his great royal city of Tigranocerta that he built himself, and went to Mount Taurus, where he assembled a great number of men out of all parts. But Lucullus would give him no leisure to prepare himself, but sent Murena on the one side to cut them off by the way, and to overthrow those that were assembled about him: and on the other side Sextilius to stop a great company of the Arabians that were coming to Tigranes, whom Sextilius set upon as they were ready to lodge, and overthrew them in manner every man. And Murena following King Tigranes at the heels, spied an occasion to give the charge as he passed a long and narrow valley, in the bottom whereof the way was very ill, and specially for an army of such a length: and taking the opportunity, set upon the rearward, which

Tigranes perceiving, fled straight upon it, making all his carriage to be thrown down in the way before the enemies to stay them. There were a great number of the Armenians slain in this overthrow, and more taken. Those things having this success, Lucullus went to the city of Tigranocerta, the which he besieged round. In that city were a marvellous number of Grecians that had been brought thither by force out of Cilicia, and many of the barbarous people also whom they had used in the like foreible manner, as they had done the Adiabenians, the Assyrians, the Gordyenians, and the Cappadocians, whose towns and cities Tigranes had destroyed, and compelled them to come and inhabit there. By reason whereof, this city of Tigranocerta was full of gold and silver, of metals, statues, tables and pictures, because every man (as well private, as princes and lords) studied to please the king, to enrich and beautify this city, with all kinds of furniture and ornaments fit for the same. And hereupon Lucullus straited the siege as much as he could, persuading himself that Tigranes would never suffer that it should be taken, but (though he had otherwise determined) yet for very anger would present him battell, thereby to enforce him to raise his siege. And surely he guessed right, had it not been that Mithridates had dissuaded him by express letters and messengers that he should in no case hazard battell, and persuaded him rather to cut off the victuals on all sides from the Romans with his horsemen. The self same counsel and advice did Taxiles (the captain whom Mithridates sent) give him in his camp, and prayed him very earnestly, that he

Lucullus besiegeth Tigranocerta

The proud saying of Tigranes

would not prove the invincible force of the Romans. Tigranes patiently hearkened to their reasons at the first: but when the Armenians were come, and all the force of the country besides, and the Gordyenians, and that the kings of the Medes and of the Adiabenians were come also with all their power, and that on the other side there came a marvellous great host of the Arabians that dwell upon the sea of Babylon, and a multitude of the Albanians from the Caspian Sea, and of the Iberians their neighbours, besides a great company of free people living without a king, that dwell by the river of Araxes, some coming freely to do him pleasure, other for their pensions and pay which he gave them: then was there none other talk neither at his table, nor in council, but of assured hope of victory, and of great brags and barbarous threatenings, so that Taxiles was in great danger of himself, because he was against the determination taken in council for giving of the battell. Now was it thought that Mithridates did envy the glory of King Tigranes, and therefore did thus dissuade him from battell. For which respect Tigranes would not so much as tarry for him, and because also Mithridates should have no part of the honour of his victory: but went into the field with all his great army, vaunting amongst his familiars as they report, that nothing grieved him but one, that he should fight with Lucullus alone, and not with all the other Roman captains. Now this bravery was not so fond, nor so far out of square, but that there was great likelihood of it when he saw so many sundry nations about him, so many kings that followed him, so many battells of armed footmen, and so

many thousand of horsemen. For he had in his army of bowmen and slings only, twenty thousand: five and fifty thousand horsemen, whereof seventeen thousand men of arms, armed from top to toe, as Lucullus himself wrote unto the Senate: and a hundred and fifty thousand armed footmen, divided by ensigns and squadrons: of pioners, carpenters, masons, and such other kind of handy-craftsmen, to plan ways, to make bridges to pass over rivers, to stop streams, to cut wood, and to make such kind of works, of this sort of people, the number of five and thirty thousand, who followed in battel ray in the rearward of the army, making their camp seem far greater, and by so much the more stronger. When Tigranes shewed on the top of Mount Taurus, and that they might plainly see his whole army from the city, and that himself also might easily discern Lucullus' army that besieged Tigranocerta: the barbarous people that were within the city were so glad of this sight, that they made wonderful shouts of joy, and great clapping of hands, threatening the Romans from their walls, and shewing them the army of the Armenians. Lucullus in the meantime sat in council to consider what was to be done: wherein some were of opinion that he should raise his siege, and go with his whole army undivided against Tigranes. But others liked not that he should leave so great a number of enemies at his back, neither that he should raise his siege. Lucullus made them answer, that neither of them both did counsel him well, but both together did counsel him right. Whereupon he divided his army, and left Murena at the siege of Tigranocerta with six

Tigranes army

Lucullus' army against Tigranes

thousand men: and he with four and twenty cohorts (in the which were not above ten thousand armed footmen) and all his horsemen, with a thousand bowmen, and slings or thereabouts, went towards Tigranes, and camped in a goodly broad field by the river's side. The Romans seemed but a handful to Tigranes' camp, so that for a while Tigranes' parasites made but a May-game of them to sport withal. For some mocked them to scorn, other drew lots, and played away their part of the spoils, as if they had already won the field: and every one of the kings and captains came and offered themselves to Tigranes, and besought him every man for himself, that he would give him the honour alone to lead this battell, and that it would please him to sit by in some place to see the sport. Tigranes then, because he would shew that he could be as pleasant as the rest, spake a thing known to every man. If they come as ambassadors, quoth he, they are very many: but if they come as enemies, they be but few. And thus they played upon the Romans, and took their pleasure of them at that time: but the next morning by break of day, Lucullus brought all his men armed into the field, and put them in order of battel. Now the camp of the barbarous people lay on the other side of the river toward the east, and by chance the stream of the river turned suddenly towards the west, where there was a better ford to pass over. Wherefore Lucullus marching with his army by the river's side, following the stream to meet with some ford, casting to get over, Tigranes thought he had marched away, and called for Taxiles, and said unto him, laughing: Doest thou see Taxiles those

goodly Roman legions, whom thou praisest to be men so invincible, how they fly away now? Taxiles answered the king again: I would your good fortune (O king) might work some miracle this day: for doubtless it were a strange thing that the Romans should fly. They are not wont to wear their brave coats and furniture upon their armour, when they mean only but to march in the fields: neither do they carry their shields and targets uncased, nor their burganets bare on their heads, as they do at this present, having thrown away their leather cases and coverings. But out of doubt, this goodly furniture we see so bright and glistring in our faces, is a manifest sign that they intend to fight, and that they march towards us. Taxiles had no sooner spoken these words, but Lucullus in the view of his enemies, made his ensign-bearer turn sodainly that carried the first eagle, and the bands took their places to pass the river in order of battell. Then Tigranes secretly come to himself, as out of drunkenness: cried out aloud twice, or thrice, Come they then to us? But then was there no small stir and tumult, to put such a world of people into battell. The King Tigranes himself undertook to lead the middle battell, gave the left wing unto the king of the Adiabenians, and the right unto the king of the Medes: in the which were the most part of the complete armed men, who made the first front of all the battel. But as Lucullus was ready to pass the river, there were certain of his captains that came unto him, to wish him to take heed that he fought not that day, because it was one of those which the Romans thought unfortunate, and call them *Atri*, as to say, black:

Tigranes boastful sayings

Lucullus' battell with Tigranes

for upon one of those days, one Cæpio was overthrown in a set battell with all his army by the Cimbrians. But Lucullus gave them a pretty answer again, which is not forgotten to this day: I will make this a happy day (said he) for the Romans. It was the sixteenth day of the moneth of October. And so with those words encouraging his men, passed over the river, and went himself the foremost man, and marched directly towards his enemy, armed with an anima of steel, made with scallop shell, shining like the sun, and upon that an arming coat fringed round about, holding his sword drawn in his hand: to let his men understand, that they must suddenly join with their enemies, and fight at the sword's point, that were not acquainted to fight but afar off with shot and slings, and that he would so quickly win the distance of ground they had to march ere they could join, that they should have no leisure to shoot. And furthermore, perceiving that the strength of their men of arms (whereof they made so great account) was ranged in battell under a hill, the top whereof was very plain and even, and the way up the hill not passing four furlongs' travel, and not very hard nor steep to climb: he sent thither certain horsemen of the Thracians and Gauls which he had in pay, and commanded them to give a charge on the flank to disorder them, and essay to cut their lances, with their swords. For all the strength of these men of arms consisteth in their lances, and they can do nothing for themselves, nor against their enemies, they are so heavily armed and loden; so as it seemeth they are locked up in their armour, as in an iron prison. And he himself therewithal taking two ensigns of footmen,

strove also to gain the top of the hill, his soldiers following him hard at the heels with a notable courage, because they saw him the foremost man travelling afoot, and digging against the height of the hill. When he had gotten up to the top, he stayed a little in the highest place he could find, and then cried out with a loud voice: O companions, the victory is ours. And as he spake those words, he led them against these men of arms, commanding them they should not meddle with throwing of their darts, but taking their swords in their hands, they should strike at their thighs and legs, because they have no other parts of their bodies naked. Howbeit there was no need of such fight, for they tarried not the Romans, but with great crying out turned their horse heads immediately, and ran cowardly (themselves and their horses, heavy armed as they were) through the middest of the bands of their footmen, before they had stricken a stroke. And thus were so many thousands of men broken without any stroke stricken, or any man hurt, or one drop of blood seen to be spilt. But the great slaughter was, when they began to fly, or (to say better) when they thought to fly: for they could not fly, they ran so one upon another's necks by reason of the marvellous length and breadth of their battels. Tigranes amongst the rest was one of the first that dislodged with a small company, and seeing his son running the same fortune, flying as himself did, took off his diadem or royal band from his head, and gave it him weeping, commanding him to save himself as well as he could by some other way. But the young prince durst not put it on his head, but gave

Lucullus' victory of Tigranes

Two puissant kings overcome by contrary means

it to one of his trusty servants to keep, who by chance was taken and brought unto Lucullus: so that amongst the other spoil and prisoners, there was taken Tigranes' diadem. It is thought that there were slain at this overthrow, above a hundred thousand footmen, and very few of all the horsemen saved. On the Romans' side, there were about a hundred hurt, and five slain. Antiochus the philosopher speaking of this battell in a treatise he made of the gods, writeth that the sun never saw the like overthrow. And Strabo another philosopher in a certain abridgment he made of stories said, that the Romans were ashamed and laughed at themselves that they had drawn their swords against such dastardly slaves. And Titus Livius declareth also, that the Romans were never in any battell with so small a number of fighting men, against so great a multitude of enemies: for the conquerers were not in all the world the twentieth part (nothing like) of those that were overcome. Wherefore the oldest and best experienced captains of the Romans did highly commend Lucullus, because he had overcome two of the greatest and most mighty princes of the world, by two sundry contrary means: the one by tract and delay, and the other by speed and swiftness. For he undermined and consumed Mithridates, by holding back, and delaying, at that time when all his strength was whole: and to the contrary he destroyed Tigranes with great speed and haste. And thus did he that, which few captains could ever do: that is, used delay of time to execute, and valiant expedition to win the victory. This was the cause why Mithridates made no haste to come

to the battell, thinking still that Lucullus had used his wonted policy, to delay and give back always: and therefore he came by small journeys unto Tigranes' camp. But meeting at the first with a few of the Armenians that fled as he came on his way, like men that had been afraid, he straight mistrusted the overthrow: but afterwards meeting greater troops of them naked, and sore wounded, then he knew how the matter went. So he went to seek out Tigranes, whom he found alone, forsaken of his men, and in very poor estate, yet did not he requite Tigranes in adversity with that pride and disdain he had used him before in his misery: but lighted off his horse, to bewail with him their common misfortune, and gave him all his officers, and train of a king's court that followed him to serve him, comforting him, and exhorting him to pluck up his heart again, and to be courageous thenceforth. Hereupon they both levied afresh the whole force and power they could from all the parts of their dominions. In the mean season, there fell out great sedition in the city of Tigranocerta, between the Grecians and the barbarous people: for the Grecians, they would have yielded up the town into Lucullus' hands. Whereupon, Lucullus giving an assault to the city at that very instant, won it, and seized upon the king's treasure there, leaving all the rest to the spoil of the soldiers: in the which, besides all other riches, there was eight thousand talents in ready money. And yet besides all that, he gave of the spoil that was won upon the enemies, eight hundred drachmas unto every soldier. And understanding that there were divers musicians, common players, minstrels, and

Lucullus took Tigranocerta

Lucullus' justice and clemency

such kind of people meet for feasts and sport, whom Tigranes had sent for thither from all parts, to dedicate the theatre he had made in this city: he caused all them to serve at the sports and feasts of this victory. After the solemnization whereof, he sent the Grecians home again unto their country, and gave them money to defray their charges by the way, and the barbarous people also that were brought thither by force from their native countries. And so it fortuned, that by the desolation and destruction of a city forsaken, many others were built again, and stored with people: because those cities had thereby recovered their natural inhabitants again, who ever after did love and honour Lucullus, as their benefactor and founder. All other things prospered also according to his vertue and merits. For Lucullus liked better the praise that came of bounty, of justice, and of clemency: than that that came by force of martial prowess and chivalry. For in deeds of arms, he said his army partly deserved praise, and fortune also carried the best part away: but the praise of the other, were only due unto himself. Whereby he shewed the value of an excellent good man, well taught and trained up in vertue: and so reaped the fruit of his worthy deserts. For by those good parts, he wan the hearts of the barbarous people in such sort, that the kings of the Arabians came of goodwill to put themselves and their goods into his hands. So did the nation of the Sophenians also yield themselves unto him. The Gordyenians, in like manner, they liked Lucullus so well that they would willingly have forsaken their cities, houses and country, to follow him with their wives and children upon this occa-

sion. Zarbienus, king of these Gordyenians, as we have recited before, had privily entered amity with Lucullus, by means of Appius Clodius, who could no longer away with the tyranny of Tigranes. This practice was betrayed unto Tigranes who put Zarbienus, his wife and children to death, before the Romans' main army came into the country of Armenia. Howbeit Lucullus did not forget it, but passing through his realm, gave him very royal funerals, for having heaped up a huge pile of wood, sumptuously set out with cloth of gold and silver, and other rich spoils of Tigranes: he himself in person, would needs set it on fire, and made the funeral effusions and accustomed sprinklings at burials, with his friends and kinsmen, doing him this honour, as to call him friend and confederate of the Roman people, and appointed also a great sum of money besides to erect a sumptuous tomb for him. For they found great store of gold and silver in the king's castell, and there was plenty of provision also of three hundred thousand bushels of wheat: the which did enrich his soldiers marvellously, and made Lucullus to be wondered at, that having received not one drachma from the sparing coffers at Rome, he had notwithstanding made the war entertain itself. About the self same time also, the king of the Parthians sent ambassadors unto him to offer him his friendship and alliance: which Lucullus willingly accepted, and sent ambassadors from him also of acceptation, who made report to Lucullus at their return, that the king of the Parthians stood doubtful how to resolve which part he should take, and that secretly he sent unto Tigranes, to ask the realm of Mesopotamia for his

Zarbienus slain by Lucullus

Lucullus prepareth to go against the Parthians

reward to aid him against the Romans. Lucullus being truly informed of the king of Parthia's double dealing, determined to leave Tigranes and Mithridates, as two enemies wearied and overcome, and a little to prove the force and power of the Parthians by making wars upon them, thinking it great honour unto him, if he might discomfit and overthrow three so mighty kings one after another, like a valiant conquerer that had overcome three famous captains together, and had passed through the countries of three of the greatest princes under the sun, always a conquerer, and never conquered. Hereupon he wrote immediately unto Sornatius and other of his captains which he had left to keep the realm of Pontus, that they should repair to him with all speed with the bands they had under their charge, for that he was determined to depart out of the country of Gordyené, to go against the Parthians: howbeit his purpose altered by occasion. For his lieutenants that had many times before found their soldiers mutinous, and rebelling at their commandments, knew plainly then their cankered stomachs and incorrigible disobedience. For they could not possibly get them from thence, by any compulsion or persuasions they could use: but contrarily they cried out, and told them plainly, that they would no longer tarry where they were, but would go home to their country, and leave the realm of Pontus without guard or garrison at all. And farther, that worst of all was, when these news were brought to Lucullus' camp, they gave a full example of boldness to his soldiers there, to mutiny in such sort, having goodwill and disposition thereunto of themselves before. For their

purses being full, and they acquainted with fineness, were become so dull and lazy, that they could endure no pains nor hardness of wars, but desired to live in all idleness and ease. And hearing the report of their fellows' stoutness, called them lusty lads, saying, they must needs take the like course, and do as they taught them, vaunting of their good service of long time done, which well deserved leave now to depart home with safety, and thenceforth take their rest. Lucullus hearing of this their talk, and many other their words, worse and fuller of sedition than these: brake off his enterprise against the Parthians, and went again in the middest of sommer to meet with Tigranes. But when he was come to the top of Mount Taurus, it grieved him to see the fields so full of wheat yet standing, which came by the season of the year, and coldness of the air, being so slack and slow in all those parts. Nevertheless, he came down into the valley, and at two or three skirmishes overthrew the Armenians, that ventured to abide his coming down. And ran over all the valley, and destroyed the whole country, without let or stop of any man, taking away the provision of corn that was made for Tigranes' camp: whereby he straitened his enemies unto that need and necessity of victuals which himself feared, and yet ceased not to provoke them (by all other means) to come to battell. Sometime enclosing their camp with trenches about, as if he meant to famish them: sometime again destroying and spoiling the whole country before their face. But because they had so oft been discomfited, they would no more stir, nor once move against him. Lucullus per-

Lucullus' soldiers fall to mutiny

Lucullus besiegeth Artaxata

ceiving that, in the end raised his camp, and went and laid siege unto Artaxata, the chief city of the kingdom of Armenia, in the which were Tigranes' lawful wives and young children, hoping that Tigranes would rather hazard another battell, than suffer that city to be lost. It is said that Hannibal of Carthage (after King Antiochus was overthrown in battell by the Romans) went unto King Artaxes, whom he taught many necessary and profitable things for his realm: and amongst others, considering that one of the goodliest and pleasantest places of all his kingdom lay waste, and no reckoning made of it, drew a plot of a city, brought the king thither, and caused it to be built and inhabited. The king liked his device marvellous well, and prayed him to take the charge upon him to see the work finished. And thus was this noble and famous city built, and called after the king's name, Artaxata: and held ever after the reputation of the chiefest place of the whole realm of Armenia. Tigranes being advertised that Lucullus went to lay siege thereunto, could not endure it, but went with all his army to follow the Romans, and the fourth day came and camped hard by them: insomuch as there was but the river of Arsanias between them, which the Romans of necessity must pass over to go to Artaxata. Lucullus having first sacrificed unto the gods, assuring himself of the victory, as if he had it already in his hands: made his army pass over in order of battell, putting twelve cohorts in the front, and the other behind, fearing lest the enemies having a great number of men of arms should environ them at their backs. *They* had against them also the Mardian bowmen

on horseback, and the Iberians with their lances, in whom Tigranes trusted more than in any other, as in the best soldiers he had in pay: and yet for all that they did no notable service. For when they had skirmished but a little with the horsemen of the Romans, they durst not tarry the legionaries or footbands that came behind them, but dispersed themselves, some flying one way, some another, which enticed the Roman horsemen to follow the chase. But when the men of arms that were about Tigranes' person, saw the horsemen so scattered abroad, they began straight to break upon the footmen. Lucullus seeing the great multitude of them, and how passingly they were armed and appointed, being somewhat afraid thereof: sent in haste to call in his horsemen that followed the chase, and in the meantime himself marched foremost, against these lords and satraps, which were in the front before him with all the nobility of their host, whom he put in such a fear, that before he could come to hand strokes, they all turned tail and fled. There were three kings ranged in battell one hard by another, howbeit of the three, he that fled most shamefully and cowardly, was Mithridates King of Pontus, who had not the heart so much as to abide the cries of the Romans. The chase was very long: for it continued all night until such time as the Romans were wearied with killing, taking of prisoners, and packing up of all kinds of spoils. Titus Livius sayeth, that there were slain more men in the first battell: but greater personages in the second: and the chiefest of the enemies were all taken. After this battell Lucullus' heart being big, and fearing nothing, determined to go farther

Lucullus maketh Tigranes fly again

Hardships of the pursuit

into the country, even utterly to destroy this barbarous king. But in the time of the equinoctial autumn, (when the weather waxed more bitter than any man would in that season have thought) there fell out so great a cold, that for the most part, it did nothing but snow: and if the element did anything clear, then froze it so hard, that the horse could come by no water, the rivers were so extremely congealed with ice. And there could no man pass over by ford: for they did not so soon enter, but the ice brake and cut the veins and sinews of the horse legs asunder, they were so hard and thick withal. And furthermore the country being full of trees, woods and forests, and the ways very narrow, not being able to pass by the fields, they were through wet with snow that fell upon them: and when they came to their lodging, then it was worse, for there they were constrained to lie in soft and moist places. And therefore the soldiers had followed but few days after this battell, but they refused to go any farther. And first they sent their colonels and captains to entreat Lucullus to leave off this journey. Afterwards they gathered together more boldly in troops, and in the night-time began to murmur and groin in their tents (which is a certain sign and token of a mutinous army, that hath a mind to rebel against their general) although that Lucullus used all gentle persuations to win them with patience to abide this journey, at the least, till time they might take the city of Carthage in Armenia: to the end they might there destroy the work and memory of the greatest enemy that ever the Romans had in the world, meaning Hannibal. But when he saw all

this would not prevail, he brought them back again, and passed over Mount Taurus another way, and came down into the country called Mygdonia, a very hot and fertile soil, where there is a great city, and marvellously replenished with inhabitants: who call it Nisibis, and the Grecians call it Antioch, of Mygdonia. In that city Gouras was governor, who was Tigranes' own brother: but for experience in engines of battery, and for sufficiency and skill in such matters, there was Callimachus also, he that so marvellously troubled Lucullus before at the siege of the city of Amisus. Lucullus placing his camp before this city besieged the same by all such means as might enforce it, and that so valiantly, that in very short time he took it by assault. And as for Gouras, who submitted himself to Lucullus' mercy, he was very curteously entreated. But for Callimachus, he would not once hear him speak, notwithstanding that he promised, if they would save his life, he would tell them of coffers full of great treasure hidden, which no man knew but himself only. But Lucullus commanded them to bring him with gyves to receive the punishment he had justly deserved, for setting the city of Amisus on fire, and taking from him the mean to shew the Grecians his goodness, affection and liberality towards them. Until this present time, it might be truly said, that good fortune ever favoured and followed Lucullus in all his enterprises and affairs: but from that time forwards, it was quickly seen that the favourable blast of fortune failed him, he did all his things with so great pain, and all that he did, fell out contrary unto him, and to very ill purpose. Indeed he did ever shew the valiancy,

Lucullus taketh Nisibis by assaul

The alteration of Lucullus' fortune

patience, and great courage that should be in a valiant general, or lieutenant of an army. But his exploits and doings had never after that easy grace, nor shining glory they were wont to have: but to the contrary, he was like to have lost all that he had won before, through the misfortunes that fell upon him, and for the brawls and vain contention he had with his people to no purpose. But the worst was, that they make himself the only author of all these evils: because he could not, or would not entertain the goodwill of the multitude of his soldiers: thinking that whatsoever a general, or any other officer of state or calling doth to please and content them he hath under his charge, is to dishonour himself, and to give cause unto his soldiers to despise his authority. But that which made most against him was this: that he gave no estimation to gentlemen, and men of like quality to himself, but disdained them, and thought them unworthy to be equal with him. For these they say were his faults and imperfections, but otherwise that he wanted no vertues, nor natural gifts and good conditions that could be possibly wished for, or desired. For he was a tall gentleman, of goodly presence, well spoken, wise and discreet, as well in matters of government, as in wars: and as well to persuade the people in peace, as to encourage his soldiers in war. Sallust writeth of him, that his soldiers began to mislike with him, even from the first entry into these wars, because he made them lie out two winters together in the field, one after another: the one before the city of Cyzicus, and the other before the city of Amisus. And even as much did the other winters following vex

and trouble them. For either they lay in their enemies' country, or else if they lay in their friend's, yet he made them camp abroad in the field, and shroud themselves in their tents: for Lucullus never entered with his army into any city or confederate town of Greece. Now if the soldiers of themselves misliked Lucullus, the counsellors at Rome that were his enemies, and envied his prosperity and glory, gave them yet greater occasions to mutiny against him. For they continually accused him to the people in their orations, that he drew out this war in length, purposely because he would always have occasion to rule, and means to get, having in his hands in manner all Cilicia, Asia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Pontus, Armenia, and all the provinces and regions as far as to the river of Phasis: and yet he had not long before spoiled the princely houses of Tigranes, as if he had been sent thither only to sack and spoil, and not to destroy and overcome those kings. And they say that it was Lucius Quintius, one of the prætors that spake these words. It was he also that most moved the people to take order that Lucullus should be called home, and other sent to succeed him in the charge and government of the countries he had subdued. By the self same mean, it was also ordained: that divers which were under his charge, should be dispensed withal for their oaths, and licensed to leave the wars when they thought good. But besides those and such like great causes, there was yet another more dangerous plague, and that most overthrew Lucullus' proceedings, passing all the other evils being put together: and that was Publius Clodius, a wicked

The cause why Lucullus' soldiers misliked with him

Publius Clodius stirred up the soldiers against Lucullus

licentious, and a hare-brained man. He was Lucullus' wive's brother, and she was so light of her body, that Clodius her brother was accused of incontinency with her. This Clodius being at that time in Lucullus' camp, carried not that estimation and credit he thought himself worthy of. For he took himself equal with the best, and would needs have been holden for chief: when indeed there were many of far better desert, he being noted both for a vicious and ill-disposed person. Whereupon he began for spite to suborn the bands called Fimbrians, and to stir them up against Lucullus, sowing sweet and pleasant words amongst the soldiers, which being wonted thereunto, looked still to be flattered. For they were those whom Fimbria had procured to kill the Consul Flaccus, and choose him in his stead for their captain. By reason whereof they gave good ear to Clodius' words, and called him a noble captain, and a lover of soldiers. For when he spake unto them, he made as though he had pitied them, for that they should never see an end of their great pains and wars, but should miserably consume their days in fighting continually, sometime with one nation, and sometime with another: and that they wandred through all the countries of the world, receiving no worthy reward of so long and painful service, serving only to guard Lucullus' carts and camels loden with plate and vessel of gold and silver, and other precious stones. Where the soldiers that had served under Pompey, took now their ease at home in their country with their wives and children, and were landed men, dwelling in goodly fair cities, as rich

burgesses and wealthy citizens: and yet they had not driven Mithridates and Tigranes out of their kingdoms, into desert places unhabitable, nor had destroyed the princely houses of Asia, but only made a little war in Spain against those that were banished, and in Italy against fugitive slaves. Shall we then, said he, carry harness on our backs all the days of our life? Is it not better that we which are escaped until this present, reserve ourselves, our bodies and lives for that noble captain, who esteemeth the greatest honour and glory he can achieve unto, is to make his soldiers rich that serve under him? Lucullus' army was so seduced and corrupted with these mutinous and seditious accusations, that the soldiers would no longer follow him, neither against Tigranes, nor against Mithridates: who went presently out of Armenia into his realm of Pontus, and began to conquer it again, whilst the Roman soldiers mutining against their general, remained idle in the province of Gordyené, excusing themselves by the winter season, and tarrying until Pompey or some other captain should quickly come to raise the siege, and succeed Lucullus. Notwithstanding, when they understood that Mithridates had overthrown Fabius, one of Lucullus' lieutenants, and that he went against Sornatius and Triarius: they were then ashamed of themselves, and became contented to be led by Lucullus. But Triarius in a bravery, when he heard that Lucullus drew near, made haste to win the victory, as if it had been cocksure before Lucullus came: and was himself overthrown in a great battell, where some say there died above seven thousand Romans, amongst the which were

Mithridates' victory of Lucullus' lieutenants

The Fimbrian bands

a hundred and fifty centurions, and four and twenty captains or colonels of a thousand men apiece, and yet besides, Mithridates took their camp also. Shortly after this overthrow, Lucullus came thither, who hid Triarius, whom the soldiers sought in their anger by all the means they could to kill. Now when Lucullus was come, he proved sundry means to procure Mithridates to battell: but Mithridates would not once stir abroad, because he looked for Tigranes that came down with a mighty power. Whereupon he determined again to go against Tigranes to fight with him, before Mithridates and he joined forces together. But as he was in his journey towards him, the Fimbrian bands began to rebel anew, and would not follow his ensigns, saying, and alleging of themselves, that by decree of the people they had leave to depart, and were discharged from their oath: and furthermore that Lucullus had no more to do to command them, considering that the government of the provinces which he had, was given unto others. Lucullus perceiving this, did so humble himself unto them, supposing that way to win them, as there was no kind of uncomely humility but he submitted himself unto it: insomuch as he went into their tents to pray and entreat them one after another, with water in his eyes, and with so great lowliness, as even to shake hands with them. But they fiercely rejected all his courtesies and fair entreaties, casting their penniless purses before him, and angrily bade him fight with his enemies alone, since he had with the spoil of them all so well enriched himself alone. Nevertheless, at the intercession and earnest request of the other soldiers, these Fimbrian bands were

compelled to promise, that they would yet tarry all that sommer, so that if no man in the meantime offered them battell, at the end of the term, they might go where they would. Lucullus was forced to accept this condition, or else to remain alone, and consequently to forsake the country of the barbarous people. With much ado thus he kept them together, but in such sort, as he durst no more venture to compel them to come to battell, contenting himself that they were willing only to stay with him, being forced to suffer Tigranes in the meantime to destroy and overrun the country of Cappadocia, and Mithridates also to brag again, of whom he had before written to the Senate that he had utterly overcome him: insomuch as there came commissioners and deputies from Rome by his own procurement, to order the state of the realm of Pontus with him, as of a kingdom already won to the Roman Empire. But when they were come, they found him not maister of himself, and that his own soldiers flouted him, and did him all the spite and injury they could. For they were so unruly towards their captain, and did so much disdain him, that when the end of the sommer was come, they armed themselves with armour and weapon, and drawing out their swords in mockery, challenged their enemies to battell which were gone out of the field: and after they had made the noise and cries accustomed when they joined battell, and made as though they fought, hurling and swinging their swords in the air, they went from the camp, declaring openly that their time was expired, which they promised Lucullus to tarry. On the other side Pompey had written unto the other

forsook Lucullus

Pompey, Lucullus' successor in Asia

soldiers that were yet in camp, to come unto him: for through the people's favour at Rome, the practices and flatteries of the common counsellors there, he was substituted general in Lucullus' place. Which much misliked the Senate and nobility: for they thought Lucullus greatly wronged to have a successor sent, not to succeed him in troubles and dangers, but in glory and honour of triumph. And that they should compel him not only to resign up the office of a general to another, but (for the good service he long time had done) the reward of his honour due for the same. And this also more misliked them that were then about him: that so soon as Pompey was arrived in Asia, he took all power and authority from Lucullus, to punish or reward any man for good or ill service done to the common wealth in those wars, and did moreover prohibit by public bills set up in every common place, that they should no more repair unto him, nor obey ought that he, or any of the ten commissioners sent to dispose of the state of the provinces won by him, should command or ordain: and because Pompey came with a greater power and army than his, he was in some fear of him. Their friends thought good nevertheless they should meet together: and so they did incontinently, in a village of Galatia, where at their first meeting they saluted each other very courteously, rejoicing together of the noble victories that either had won. Lucullus was the elder man, but Pompey of greater dignity, because he had been general of the Roman people in many wars, and had already triumphed twice. The bundels of rods which the sergeants carried before them, were wreathed about with

laurel branches for the victories they had both achieved: but Pompey's bundels were withered away, because they had come a long journey through hot and dry countries. Lucullus' officers seeing theirs withered, courteously gave them of theirs fresh and new gathered: which Pompey's friends took for a sign of good luck. For to say truly, the things that Lucullus did in the time of his charge, were cause of the honour that Pompey afterwards wan. Howbeit in the end for all their talk, they were no whit the better friends: but departed the one from the other more strange than they met. For Pompey by a plain edict, brake, revoked and disannulled all Lucullus' ordinances, and taking from him all his other soldiers, left him but only sixteen hundred to accompany his triumph, and yet they followed him with unwilling minds: such was Lucullus' imperfection and maim, either by nature or frowardness of fortune, that he lacked the chiefest thing a general should have, which was, to be beloved of his soldiers. For if he had attained to that perfection, amongst many other his excellent vertues, and magnanimity, wisdom, judgement, and justice: the river of Euphrates had not been the uttermost confines of the empire of Rome on Asia side, but it had extended as far as the sea Hyrcan, yea even unto the utmost part of the world. For King Tigranes had already conquered the other nations that lie beyond that, saving the country of Parthia, which then was not so great nor strong, as it appeared afterwards in Crassus' time: nor so joined and knit together, but (what through civil dissensions amongst them at home, and foreign wars of their neighbours abroad) was so weak, that

Mislikings between Pompey and Lucullus

Lucullus' return to Rome

with great difficulty they could defend themselves from the Armenians, that continually harried them out of their skins. But to take things rightly as they be indeed, methinks that Lucullus did more hurt unto his country by other, than he did benefit the same by himself. For the tokens of triumph and victories which he wan in Armenia so near unto the Parthians, the cities of Tigranocerta and of Nisibis which he had sacked and spoiled, the great treasure that he brought to Rome, and the diadem also of Tigranes, which was shewed in triumph as a prisoner with the rest: moved Crassus with such a marvellous desire to pass into Asia, as if all the barbarous people had been nothing but an assured spoil, and a purposed prey unto all those that would come to take them. But Crassus far otherwise, finding himself galled and troubled with the arrows of the Parthians, knew then by proof, that Lucullus had not so much overcome his enemies for that they wanted skill, or were a cowardly people, as he had done through his wisdom and valiantness. But that shall be seen hereafter. Furthermore, Lucullus' being now returned to Rome, found first of all his brother Marcus accused by one Gaius Memmius, for that he had done in his office of treasurer in Sulla's time, and by his commandment, whereof he was cleared by sentence of the judges. But Memmius of spite turned his anger against Lucullus self, stirring up the people against him, and letting them understand that Lucullus had kept back and robbed much part of the treasure, which should have come to the common wealth, and that to work his feat the better, had prolonged these wars as he did: wherefore he persuaded them flatly to

deny him the honour of his triumph. And truly Lucullus was in great danger to have lost it utterly: but that the noblemen of the city, and they that were of greatest authority, intermeddled themselves with the tribes when they came to pass it by voices of the people, whom they entreated so much through suit and persuasion, that in the end, with much ado, the people suffered him to enter the city in triumph. So Lucullus made a triumphant entry, not terrible nor troublesome for the long shew or sight thereof, nor for the multitude of things that he brought thither with him, as many other captains had done before him. For he caused the shew-place (which they call Circus Flaminius at Rome) to be set out and furnished chiefly with armour and weapons of the enemies to a marvellous number: and with the king's engines and inventions of battering-pieces, which was a pleasant sight to behold. And in this shew, there was a certain number of his men of arms bravely armed, ten carts of war armed with scythes that passed by, and threescore of the chiefest friends and captains of the two kings that were led prisoners through the city. And there were also drawn after them, a hundred and ten galleys all armed in the prores with strong spurs of copper, and a statue of Mithridates all of clean gold, six foot high, with a rich target set with precious stones. Besides all that, there were twenty cupboards as full of silver plate as could be, and thirty cupboards full also of golden vessel, armour and coin of gold, carried upon men's shoulders. After them followed eight mules laden with golden beds, and six and fifty other mules that carried silver bullion, and a hundred and seven

Lucullus' triumph

Lucullus giveth over

other mules that carried silver coin, amounting to the sum of two hundred three score and ten thousand sesterties. Furthermore, there were books of account carried also, wherein were particularly written the sums of money which Lucullus had delivered before unto Pompey for the war against pirates on the sea, and unto the treasurers and high treasures, to put into the sparing coffers of the common wealth at Rome. And afterwards in an article by itself, that he had given nine hundred and fifty drachmas to every soldier by the poll. After the shew of this triumph was ended, he made a general feast, in the which he feasted all the city and villages thereabouts, which the Romans call Vicos. And afterwards forsook his wife Clodia for her unchaste and wanton life, and married Servilia Cato's sister: howbeit he was nothing by the exchange, for he sped as evil with the second as he did with the first. For, saving that she was not slandered with the incest of her own brethren, otherwise she was as dishonest and unchaste as Clodia: and yet he bare withal a while for her brother's sake, but at the length grew weary of her, and put her away as he had done Clodia. Now when he had filled the Senate with a marvellous hope and expectation of him (who thought they had now got one to encounter and withstand Pompey's tyranny, and to uphold and maintain the authority of the nobility and Senate against the people, for that by his noble deeds he had achieved so great fame and reputation) he suddenly gave over all dealings in the affairs of the common wealth: either because he saw it so best, being a hard thing now to keep it from ruin: or else (as other said) for that he felt himself

sufficiently furnished with honour and wealth, and therefore determined from thenceforth to live quietly all at his ease after so great pains, travels and troubles, the end whereof fell not out over fortunately. And surely some were of his mind, and liked this great change of his marvellous well: because he did not as Marius did, neither happened on the ill success and end that Marius had. For Marius after the notable victories which he brought from the Cimbrians, and after his valiant acts in wars which had won him great honour, yet would he not so leave off, when he might have been chronicled to his wonderful glory: but of an unsatiable mind, and ambitious desire to rule and bear sway, (being withal a very old man) went and sorted himself amongst young men desirous of government, who brought him not only to commit many outrages, but made himself also to suffer greater cruelties. It is thought also that Cicero had ended his aged course more happily, if after he had quenched Catiline's conspiracy, he had then taken his ease. And so had Scipio in like case, if when he had joined Numantia unto Carthage, he would then have quieted himself. And therefore, some say, that there is a certain revolution and time appointed, beyond the which no wise man should meddle any more with the affairs of the common wealth: no more than a man whose youth and strength is gone and decayed, is any more fit to joust, wrestle, or enter into such exercises of the body. But contrarily, Crassus and Pompey mocked Lucullus, because he gave himself so much to pleasure and pastime: as if to live pleasantly and delicately did not worse become his age, than to

government of the common wealth

Lucullus' buildings and pleasures

command an army, or to govern the affairs of a common weal. And for my part, reading Lucullus' life: methinks that I read an ancient comedy, the beginning whereof is tedious, and the latter end joyful. For at the beginning of his life, you find notable exploits done by him in wars, and great good government also in peace: but in the end they all turned into feasts and banquets, and lacking little of masks and mummeries, dancing with torches, and all other such delights fit for young men. For I bring within the compass and reckoning of his fineness and pleasures, his sumptuous buildings, his stately walls and galleries, his hothouses and stoves, his tables and pictures, his statues also: and the great workmanship and curiosity he had besides of all other arts by him gotten together out of all parts to his infinite charge, abusing therein the world of goods and treasure gotten and won in the wars, in time of his charge and office of general, and otherwise. Insomuch, that notwithstanding excess and superfluity hath ever since increased until this present time, yet they reckon the gardens Lucullus made, to be the most sumptuous and delicatest places that the emperors have. And therefore Tubero the Stoic philosopher, having seen these stately works which Lucullus had caused to be made near unto Naples, by the seaside (where there are mountains cut through, light as day, and hanged upon vaults) and great ditches cast by force to make the sea pass and run through his houses, to keep fish therein, and lodgings also that he built in the sea itself: he called Lucullus, Xerxes the gownman, as if he would have said, Xerxes the Roman. For even so did Xerxes

His curi
osity an
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service

in old time cause the mountain Athos to be cut in sunder, and a channel to be digged there to pass his ships through. He had also many other pleasant places within the territories of Rome near unto Tusculum, where there were great large halls set upon terraces to see round about far off in the day time. And Pompey going thither sometime to see him, reproved him greatly, telling him that he had built a marvellous fair sommer house, but not to be dwelt in the winter season. Lucullus laughing, answered him: Do ye think me to have less wit and reason than storks or cranes, that I cannot shift houses according to the season? Another time there was a prætor of Rome, that making plays to shew the people pastime, sent unto Lucullus to borrow certain purple clokes to set forth his players: Lucullus made him answer, that he would cause his folks to look if he had any. And the next morning demanding of him how many he should need, the other answered, that a hundred would serve his turn. Whereupon Lucullus told him again, he would furnish him with two hundred, if his case so required. And therefore the poet Horace writing this story, addeth to a notable exclamation against superfluity, saying: That men think that a poor house, where there is no more riches than necessary, and where there is not more than appeareth in sight, and that the maister knoweth of. He was a vain man in his ordinary service at his board, not only in that his beds whereon he fed, were covered with rich carpets of purple, and himself served in gold and silver vessel set with precious stones, and that there was dancing, music, plays, and other suchlike pastimes of ordinary: but also for that he was con-

Cato's saying of Lucullus

tinually served with all sorts of fine dainty dishes, with works of pastry, banqueting dishes, and fruit curiously wrought and prepared, which only made him to be wondred at of men of simple understanding and mean condition. Therefore was Pompey marvellously esteemed, and specially for a word he spake one day when he was sick, and that the physician had willed him to eat of a thrush. For when his servants told him they were hard to come by in sommer, but at Lucullus' house where they brought them up all the year through: he would in no wise they should ask any of him, but said unto his physician: What if Lucullus were not given to pleasure, could not Pompey live? And so willed them to get him some other such thing, as they might more easily come by. Cato was Lucullus' friend and kinsman both, and yet he so much misliked his manner of living and ordinary expense: that one day a young man making a long and tedious oration in open Senate (out of time, and to no purpose) touching mean diet, sobriety, and temperance of life: Cato could no longer abide him, but rose up, and said unto him: What, wilt thou not leave babbling to us all day: thou that art rich as Crassus, that livest as Lucullus, and speakest as Cato? Other affirm that these words were spoken thus, but that it was not Cato that spake them: nevertheless it is certain, by the notable sayings they have gathered of Lucullus, he did not only delight to live so delicately, but also he gloried in it. Some write that he feasted certain Grecians many days together in his house, that were come out of Greece to Rome: and that they being men brought up with the sobriety and simplicity of Greece, after

they had been feasted there divers times, were ashamed, and refused to go thither any more, being afterwards entreated to come to Lucullus, supposing that he had made them this great cheer for their own sakes. Lucullus hearing of it, told them: My Lords, I pray you refuse not to come to me for that. Indeed I must needs grant that there is somewhat more than ordinary to welcome you withal: but I tell you truly, the most part is for Lucullus' sake. Another time when he supped all alone, and his men had laid but one board, and prepared but a reasonable supper for him, he was very angry with them, and called for his steward to know why he was served so. The steward answered him: My Lord, because I saw you send for nobody, I thought this supper sufficient. What, said he again: knewest not thou that Lucullus should sup to-night with himself? In fine, Lucullus' fare was commonly known through Rome, that there was no talk but of Lucullus' noble housekeeping. Whereupon, Cicero and Pompey being desirous to see the proof thereof, came one day to him in the market-place seeing him at leisure: (for Cicero was Lucullus' very good friend, and Pompey also: and though there was some jar between them for matters of wars, he did not let for that to come unto him, and to speak gently one to another) and Cicero after he had saluted him, asked him if he would be contented they should come and see him. Oh, said he, with all my heart: I pray you come to me. Well then, said Cicero, Pompey and I will come and sup with you to-night, with condition that you provide no more than your ordinary. Lucullus told them again, they should then fare but badly, and

Certain sayings of Lucullus

Lucullus' library

therefore it were better they tarried till to-morrow. But they would none of that, no nor suffer him to speak with his men for fear he should command them to provide somewhat more than for himself. Nevertheless, at his desire they suffered him only in their presence aloud to tell one of his men, that he would sup that night in Apollo: (for so was one of his most stately and sumptuous halls of his house called) and with that word only he finely deceived them both, and they never found him. For every hall had his certain sum and rate appointed for the charge and expense of every supper they made in them, and the ordinary furniture and service for the same. So that when his servants had their watch-word but in what hall he would sup, they knew straight what charge he would be at for his supper, and what orders should be observed therein. Now Lucullus' manner was to spend when he made any feast in the hall of Apollo, fifty thousand pence, and that self day the supper was prepared according to that value: insomuch as Pompey marvelled how it could be possible that a supper of so exceeding great charge could be so suddenly prepared. In such things therefore did Lucullus lavishly and riotously spend his goods, like spoils indeed gotten of slaves and barbarous people. But that specially which he bestowed upon books, was a very commendable and honest expense. For he had gathered together a great number of notable histories, the use whereof was more honour to him, than the having of them. For his library was ever open to all comers, and they suffered the Grecians to come into his goodly terraces and fair walks, or other pleasant places thereabouts convenient to sit and reason together,

and never shut door against them: where learned men met commonly, and oftentimes spent the whole day in conference together, as in the house of the Muses, being very glad when other matters were despatched, they had so much leisure as but to go thither. And Lucullus self would also many times be amongst them, in those terraces and pleasant walks, delighting much to talk with them: and he did ever help to despatch them that had any business with him, and granted the thing they requested of him. To conclude, his house was a common receipt for all them that came from Greece to Rome. He loved all manner of philosophy, and refused no sect of the same. But from his youth upward, he ever loved and esteemed best the Academick sect, not that which they call the new Academick (although it flourished at that time through Carneades' works, which Philo made such estimation of) but the old Academick which the philosopher Antiochus of the city of Ascalon did defend and maintain at that time, being an eloquent rhetorician and well spoken, whom Lucullus sought to win by all means to make him his friend, and to have him in house with him: because he might envy against Philo's hearers and followers, whose scholar Cicero among the rest was, that wrote a notable book against this old Academick sect. And in the same he reciteth Lucullus, maintaining the opinion of the old Academicks: who hold, that a man may certainly know and comprehend something, and called that *catalepsis*: but Cicero defended the contrary. The book is entitled Lucullus: for they were (as we have rehearsed before) very good friends, and had

Lucullus loved philosophy

Pompey, Crassus, Cæsar conspired together against the state

both one self desire for government in the common wealth. For Lucullus did not so withdraw himself from matters of state, that he would no more meddle at all, nor hear speak of them: but he betimes gave over all ambition and contention, as a thing of no small danger, and breeding great reproach and dishonour to Marcus Crassus, and Cato, to be chief in authority. And these two were they that defended the Senate, and whom they raised up to withstand Pompey's greatness, being afraid of him, after that Lucullus had refused the chief place of authority. But otherwise, Lucullus would be in the market-place at courts and common councils, to pleasure his friends when they requested him: and would go to the Senate also, when there was occasion to break any new practice, or to overthrow Pompey's ambitious policy. For he overthrew all the orders and constitutions that Pompey had made, after he had overcome the kings, Mithridates and Tigranes: and with the help of Cato hindered a distribution of money which Pompey had written for to Rome, to be bestowed amongst his soldiers. Whereupon Pompey fell in friendship, (or to speak more plainly, in conspiracy) with Crassus and Cæsar, by whose help and assistance, he filled Rome with arms and soldiers: and made the people by force to pass and confirm what he would have done, after he had violently expulsed Lucullus and Cato out of the market-place. Whereat the noblemen were much offended, and misliking the great wrong they had offered Lucullus and Cato, Pompey's followers suborned a Bruttian, and said he was taken lying in wait to kill Pompey. Whereupon the said Bruttian

being examined by the Senate, named certain: but when he came before the people, he named Lucullus, saying that he had hired him to kill Pompey. But no man believed him. For they perceived openly in the market-place, that he was procured by themselves falsely to accuse Lucullus, and Pompey's other adversaries. And this was proved more plainly within few days after, when they threw the body of this Bruttian dead in the middest of the street, out of the prison: who they say died of himself with sickness. Howbeit the marks be plainly seen of the halter wherewith they had strangled him, and the stripes appearing also which they had given him: did plainly show that they themselves did it, whom after they had suborned to accuse Lucullus, they slew in this manner. This was the cause why Lucullus did more than before absent himself from meddling in public causes: but after, when he saw that they had so wickedly exiled Cicero, and found means also to convey Cato far enough off, under pretenced colour to send him with charge into the Isle of Cyprus: then he gave up altogether. Some write that a little before his death, he was not perfect in his wits, decaying through age by little and little. Howbeit Cornelius Nepos sayeth, that it was not for age, nor sickness, that his wits did alter: but through poison which one of his slaves had given him, whom he had made free, called Callisthenes: who gave it him, not of any evil intent, but because his maister should love him the more, supposing that this poison had power to make him love him. But he troubled his wits so much with this poison, that Lucullus while he lived was fain to have his brother Marcus to oversee his goods.

Lucullus fell out o his wits before hi death

Lucullus' death

Notwithstanding this, when he was dead, he was as much bewailed and lamented of all the people, as if he had died in his best credit, and greatest prosperity. For all the people ran to honour his funerals, and his body was carried to the place, by the young noblemen of the city. The people would in any case have buried him within the field of Mars, as they had before buried Sulla. But because no man thought of it before, and also for that things necessary were not easily to be provided for the place: his brother Marcus besought the people they would be content his funerals might be at a town of his own, near unto the city of Tusculum, where his tomb was prepared, and he himself lived not long time after. For as Lucullus both in age, and honour, had not left him far behind him: so did he not much in his death. For as a brother that had always dearly loved him, he could not then long live, and survive him.

THE END OF LUCULLUS' LIFE.

THE COMPARISON OF
LUCULLUS WITH CIMON

NOTHING (in my opinion) made Lucullus more happy, than to die when he did, before he saw the change and alteration of the common-weal, which the fatal destinies plagued the Romans withal with sedition and civil wars: and that he died in his country yet enjoying her liberty, above all other things, but beginning then to fall to decay. And in that he was likest unto Cimon: who died whilst the Grecians were in good love and peace with other, and not in broil of discord and civil wars. Indeed Cimon died in his camp, being general of his country, at the siege of the city of Citium in Cyprus, not withdrawn to his home, as one wearied, living idly, or leading a voluptuous life in feasts and banquets, making that the end and reward of his wars, victories and triumphs: but as Plato said (when he wisely blamed and reproved Orpheus, who promiseth perpetual drunkenness in the world to come, for reward of their vertue, that lived well in this life) merrily. And truly it is a great comfort and contentation of mind, for an old man feebled with age, and compelled by weakness, to withdraw himself from the world, as well in matters of government in peace, as in wars: and quietly to pass his time in study, where delight is joined with honest contemplation. But to finish his ver-

Lucullus' death blessed

A good gift, to decay vice and to increase vertue

tuous deeds, by referring them to pleasure, as unto their only end, and moreover, to grow old by pleasure and vanity, solemnizing Venus' feast all the rest of his life, after he had made such wars, and commanded such armies: that methinks a thing unworthy of an honest Academick, and altogether unmeet for one professing old Xenocrates' doctrine, but fit rather for a man given over altogether to Epicurus' discipline. There is a wonderful thing to be considered of in these two men, that the one's youth was altogether vicious and reproachful, and the other's to the contrary, honest and vertuous. But he is the better that changeth for the better: and that nature is always more commendable, in whom vice decayeth, and vertue waxeth young: than that which by continuance of time sheweth still the contrary. And furthermore, they both grew rich by one self mean: but they did not both alike use their riches. For it were to no purpose to compare the buildings of the wall that standeth south within the castell of Athens, which was built with the money Cimon brought thither: with the fine built chambers, and high raised turrets to gaze afar, and environed about with conduits of water, which Lucullus erected by Naples, with the spoils of the barbarous people. Neither is Cimon's table also of moderate fare and diet, but yet open to every man, comparable to Lucullus' board: which was sumptuously furnished, and shewed the greatness of his lord. For Cimon's board fed many mouths daily with a small charge: and Lucullus' table exceeded in expense, to feed a few, with superfluous dainties. Unless they will say, that time caused this difference between them. But who can tell,

if Cimon had been at leisure to have withdrawn himself to quiet in age from government, and arms, he also would not have led a more sumptuous and dissolute life, given to all pleasure, than Lucullus did? For of his own nature he loved wine, banquets, and plays, and was also given to women, as we have told you before. But prosperity, and fortunate success of things do bring such delight to ambitious men of nature, and born to great enterprises: that they make them forget to run after their other voluptuous vain desires. And therefore had Lucullus died abroad in the wars, whilst he commanded armies: there had not been that living man, how curious soever he had been to reprove other men's faults, that could have detected him of any reproachful vice. And thus much for their manner of life. Now furthermore, touching the state of their wars: no doubt both the one and the other were excellent captains, as well by sea as by land. And like as in games of prize and exercises of body which are shewed in Greece, they that in one self day win the games at wrestling, and weapons both, are called by a strange custom, not conquerors only, but victors also, to honour them withal: even so methinks that Cimon in like case having in one self day crowned Greece with two notable marks of triumph, for two battels he wan, the one by sea, and the other by land, deserveth to have some place and preferment before other captains. And moreover, Lucullus received the authority to command, of his country and common wealth: but Cimon gave his country both authority and ability to command. Lucullus found his country a commanding people to all their friends

Cimon's two victories obtained in one day

Great difference

and confederates: through whose aid he overcame his enemies. And Cimon contrarily, found his country marching under another's ensign, and through his valiantness did so behave himself, that he made his city go before her confederates, and triumph over her enemies: compelling the Persians by force to give them the rule by sea, and persuading the Lacedæmonians willingly to give place unto them by land. Now if the chiefest thing that can be in an excellent captain, is to make himself to be beloved of his soldiers, that they may delight to obey him: then was Lucullus despised of his soldiers, and Cimon esteemed and wondered at, even of the confederates themselves. For Lucullus was forsaken of his own men: and Cimon was followed by very strangers, for the confederates did join together with him. Lucullus returned home into his country, forsaken of those he carried out with him. Cimon returned again, commanding them that were sent out with him to obey others: and had at one time done for his country three notable things, and hard for them to have compassed: to wit, made peace with the enemies, given them authority and rule of their confederates, and joined friendship with the Lacedæmonians. Both of them undertook to destroy great empires, and conquer all Asia. But neither of them both could bring their enterprise to pass. The one by reason of his death, which cut him off on the sudden being general, and when his affairs prospered best. The other can hardly be excused, that there was not a great fault in him: either in that he could not, or because he would not satisfy the complaints and griefs of his men, which caused them so much to hate and

mislike him. And yet it might be said also, that in this fault he was like unto Cimon: who was oftentimes accused by his citizens, and at the length banished his country for the space of ten years, because that in ten years' space (as Plato sayeth) they should no more hear him speak. For to say truly, it seldom times happeneth, that the grave wits of noble men please the multitude, neither are they acceptable unto the common people: because they striving continually to reform them when they go awry, do grieve them as much, as surgeons do their patients when they bind up their sores with bands to cure them. For though by that binding they restore and bring to their natural places again the broken bones or members out of joint: yet put they the patient to great pain and grief. And therefore methinks neither the one or the other is to be blamed. Furthermore, Lucullus went a great deal farther with his army, than ever Cimon did. For he was the first Roman captain that passed over Mount Taurus, and the river of Tigris with an army. He took and burnt almost in sight of both the kings, the royal cities of Asia, Tigranocerta, Cabira, Sinopé, and Nisibis. Towards the north, he went as far as the river of Phasis towards the east, into Media: and southward, even to the Red Sea, and unto the realms of Arabia, subduing all unto the Roman Empire. And having overthrown all the power of these two mighty kings, he took from them all, but their persons only: who fled and hid themselves like wild beasts, in infinite deserts and unpassable forests. Wherein is easily discerned the difference betwixt the doings of the one, and of the other. For the Persians, as if t

betwixt Cimon and Lucullus

Mithridates and Tigranes

had no hurt nor overthrow at all by Cimon, fought a battell immediately after against the Grecians, and overthrew the greatest part of their army in Egypt: where Mithridates and Tigranes, after Lucullus' victories, did never any notable act. For the one finding himself altogether pulled down on his knees, and broken by the former battels: durst never once only shew his army unto Pompey, out of the strength of his camp, but fled into the realm of Bosphorus, where he died. And Tigranes, he went and humbled himself on his knees, unarmed, and without weapon, unto Pompey: and taking his diadem off from his head, laid it at his feet, not flattering him for the victories he had won, but for those which Lucullus had triumphed for. By reason whereof he scaped good cheap, and thought himself happy, when Pompey gave him only the mark and title of a king, the which before had been taken from him. He therefore is thought to be the more worthy captain, and stoutest champion, that leaveth his enemy in weak estate for him that followeth, and shall fight afterwards with him. And furthermore, Cimon found the power of the king of Persia overharried, the pride and fierceness of the Persians laid a-ground, by many great battels they had lost before unto Themistocles, King Pausanias, and Leotychides, who had overthrown them: and going now again to fight afresh with them, it was an easy thing to overcome the bodies of those, whose hearts were already vanquished. Where Lucullus to the contrary, assailed Tigranes, that had never been overcome, but bare a marvellous lofty mind with him, for the many great battels and conquests he had won. And for the multitude of enemies, there was no com-

parison between those that Cimon overthrew, and those that were ranged in battell against Lucullus. So that all things weighed and considered, it were hard to judge which of them two proved the worthiest man: for that it seemeth, that the gods did favour both the one and the other, telling the one what he should do, and the other what he should not do. And thus it appeareth by testimony of the gods, they were both good men, and that they both obtained everlasting glory.

The god favoured both

THE LIFE OF NICIAS

The praise of Thucydides

I HAVE reason (as I think) to compare Nicias with Crassus, and the events that happened to the one in Parthia, with those that befell the other in Sicily: yet am I to pray them that shall happen to read my writings, not to think me in intermeddling with those matters (in the describing and reporting whereof, Thucydides hath gone beyond himself, both for variety and liveliness of narration, as also in choice and excellent words) to have the like intent and opinion, that Timæus the historiographer had. Who, hoping by the gravity and life of his words and reports, to darken the glory of Thucydides, and make Philistus (in comparison of himself) appear ignorant, and without any grace of historical narration: hath in his history of purpose sought occasion to enter into the describing of those battels by sea and by land, and the report of those speeches and orations, which are delivered by them with great judgement and eloquence. Wherein he cometh as near them whom he contends to pass, as doth the footman to the Lydian coach, as saith Pindarus: and besides sheweth himself fond and of small judgement, or as Diphilus saith:

A lubber laden with Sicilian grease.

And in divers places, he falleth into Xenarchus'

follies. As where he saith, that he thinks it was an evil token for the Athenians, that Nicias the captain (whose name was derived of this word Nicé, signifying victory) dissuaded their attempts against Sicily: and that by the throwing down and mangling of the Herms (to say, the images of Mercury) it was foreshewed that they should receive great overthrows by the general of the Syracusans, called Hermocrates, the son of Hermon. And further, that it was not unlikely that Hercules did favour the Syracusans, by reason of the goddess Proserpina, (protector and defender of the city of Syracusa) to requite her for that she gave him Cerberus the dog, porter of hell: and that he did malice the Athenians besides, because they took the Segestans' parts: (who came of the Troyans, whom he much hated) for breaking their promise and faith with him, whose city himself had overthrown in revenge of the wrong that Laomedon king of Troy had offered him. Howbeit Timæus shews as much wit and judgement, in delivering us such toys in an history: as he doth in correcting the style of Philistus, or in condemning and railing of Plato and Aristotle. But in my fancy, this ambition and contention to write or to speak more clerkly than others, sheweth always a base envious mind, like a scholar full of his school points. But when it striveth with things that are past all challenge and correcting, then it is extreme folly and madness. Since therefore I may not pass over nor omit certain things, which Thucydides and Philistus have already set down, and especially those wherein they lay open Nicias' nature and qualities, which the variety of his successes and fortune did cover: Timæus' follies

Nicias' equals

I must lightly touch them, and report so much as is necessary, and convenient, lest men condemn me, for sloth and negligence. And in the rest I have endeavoured to gather and propound things not commonly marked and known, which I have collected as well out of sundry men's works and ancient records, as out of many old antiquities: and of them all compiled a narration, which will serve (I doubt not) to decipher the man and his nature. Of Nicias therefore may be said that which Aristotle hath written of him, that there were three famous citizens of Athens, very honest men, and which favoured the communality with a natural fatherly love: Nicias the son of Niceratus, Thucydides the son of Milesias, and Theramenes the son of Hagnon. But of the three, this last was of smallest account: for he is flouted as a foreigner born in the isle of Ceos, and challenged besides for inconstant and irresolute in matters of state and government: and inclining sometimes to one faction, sometimes to another, he was called Cothurnus, a kind of buskin indifferently serving for both legs, and in old time was used of common players of tragedies. Of the other two, Thucydides being the elder, did many good acts in favour of the nobility against Pericles, who always took part with the inferior sort. Nicias that was the younger, had reasonable estimation in Pericles' lifetime: for he was joined captain with him, and oftentimes also had charge by himself alone without him. After Pericles' death, the nobility raised him to great authority, to be as a strong bulwark for them, against Cleon's insolency and boldness: and withal he had the love of the people, to advance and prefer him.

Now this Cleon in truth could do much with the people, he did so flatter and dandle them, like an old man, still feeding their humour with gain: but yet they themselves whom he thus flattered, knowing his extreme covetousness, impudency, and boldness, preferred Nicias before him, because his gravity was not severe nor odious, but mingled with a kind of modesty, that he seemed to fear the presence of the people, which made them thereby the more to love and esteem him. For being (as he was) of a fearful and mistrustful nature and disposition: in wars he cloked his fear with good fortune, which ever favoured him alike in all his journeys and exploits that he took in hand where he was captain. Now being much afraid of accusers, this timorous manner of his proceeding in the city, was found to be popular, whereby he wan him the goodwill of the people: and by means thereof rose daily more and more, because the people commonly fear those that hate them, and advance them that fear them. For the greatest honour nobility can do to the communality, is to show that they do not despise them. Now Pericles, who through his perfect vertue only, and force of his great eloquence ruled the whole state and common wealth of Athens, he needed no counterfeit colour, nor artificial flattering of the people, to win their favour and goodwills: but Nicias lacking that, and having wealth enough, sought thereby to creep into the people's favour. And where Cleon would entertain the Athenians with pleasant toys and devices, and could feed the people's humour that way: Nicias finding himself no fit man to work by such encounter, crept into the people's favour with liberality, with charges of

Nicias a timorous man

Nicias' liberality

common plays, and with suchlike sumptuousness, exceeding in cost and pleasant sports, not only all those that had been before him, but such also as were in his time. There yet remain monuments of his consecrating unto the gods: as the image of Pallas in the castle of Athens, the gilt being worn off: and the chapel which is under the festival table of Bacchus: for he many times had the chief prize in Bacchus' dances, and never went away without some game. And touching this matter, there goeth a report that at certain plays whereof Nicias defrayed the charges, one of his men came forth upon the players' stage before the people, apparelled like Bacchus: and being a goodly tall young man, without any hair on his face, the Athenians took such pleasure to see him so attired, that they made a clapping of their hands a long time together for joy. Therewithal Nicias stood up, and told them, that it were a shame for him to leave the body of a man in bondage, that openly was esteemed as a god: and thereupon forthwith made this young slave a freeman. Men write also of certain sumptuous and devout acts he did in the Isle of Delos, where the dancers and singers which the cities of Greece sent thither to sing rhymes and verses in the honour of Apollo, were wont before to arrive disorderly: and the cause was, for the numbers of people that ran to see them, who made them sing straight without any order, and landing in haste out of their ships, they left their apparel, and put on such vestments as they should wear in procession, and their garlands of flowers on their heads, all at one present time. But Nicias, being commanded to go thither

to present the singers of Athens, landed first in the Isle of Rhenea, hard adjoining to the Isle of Delos, with his singers, his beasts for sacrifice, and with all the rest of his train, carrying a bridge with him, which he had caused to be made at Athens, upon measure taken of the channel, betwixt the one and the other isle set out with pictures and tables, with gilding, with nosegays and garlands of triumph, and with excellent wrought tapestry: which in the night he set up upon the channel, being not very broad, and the next morning by break of the day caused his singers to pass over upon it, singing all the way as they went in his procession so nobly set forth, even unto the very temple of Apollo. And when the sacrifice, the feast, and games that were to be played were finished, he gave a goodly palm tree of copper, which he offered up to Apollo, bought lands besides that cost him ten thousand drachmas, which he consecrated also unto the god Patron of the isle: and ordained, that the profits of the same should be yearly bestowed by the Delians, upon an open sacrifice and feast, in the which they should pray to their god, for the health and prosperity of Nicias: and so caused it to be written and graven upon a pillar he left in Delos, as a perpetual monument and keeper of his offering, and foundation. Afterwards, this copper palm tree being broken by winds, it fell upon the great image of the Naxians' gift, and threw it down to the ground. Surely in this ceremony and act of his, there was a marvellous pomp, and great shew of popular ambition: nevertheless, he that shall consider of his life and actions, may easily persuade himself that above all, he did it of very pure zeal

and magnificence

Nicias superstitious

and devotion, and secondly, to give pleasure and pastime to the people. For by Thucydides' report of him, he was one that feared the gods with trembling, and was wholly given to religion. We find written in one of the dialogues of Pasiphon, that Nicias did sacrifice daily to the gods, and kept a soothsayer continually in his house, giving out abroad, that it was to counsel with him what should happen about the affairs of the common wealth: but in truth it was to inquire of his own business, and specially of his mines of silver. For he had many great mines about Laurion side, that were very profitable to him: but withal they digged with great danger, and he was driven continually to keep a marvellous number of slaves at work there. The most part of Nicias' riches was in ready money, and thereby he had many cravers and hangers on him, whom he gave money unto: for he gave as well unto wicked people that might do mischief, as unto them that deserved reward, and were worthy of his liberality. Thus was his fear a rent to the wicked, as his liberality was also a revenue to the good: and hereof the comical poets do deliver us ancient testimony. For Teleclides speaking of a certain informer saith thus:

> Charicles did refuse to give one mina for to stay
> The bruiting of his secret birth, conveyed close away:
> But Nice, the son of Nicerate, did willingly bestow,
> A brace of minas double told. And though I well do know
> The cause of his so doing, yet I will not him bewray:
> For why? The man is my good friend, and wise I dare well say.

And he, whom Eupolis mocketh in his comedy

entitled Maricas, bringing a plain simple man upon the stage, doth ask him:

Nicias fe
fear gav
to the
wicked

The Informer:

How long is it ago since thou didst speak with Nicias?

The Plain Man:

I saw him standing even right now upon the market-place.

The Informer:

This man affirms he saw him there. And wherefore should he say
He saw him, but of some intent his lewdness to bewray?
Now sirs ye see how Nicias here is taken in the trip,
For all his walking close in clouds to give the privy slip.

The Author:

O foolish folk, suppose ye that so good a man as he,
In any fault or shameful fact will tardy taken be?

And Cleon threatening in the comedy of Aristophanes, entitled the Knights, saith these words:

The orators if by the throat I take,
Then sure I am, that Nicias straight will quake.

Phrynichus self also telleth us glancingly, that he was so timorous and easy to be afraid, when he said speaking of another man:

A good stout man (I know full well) he was,
And not a coward like to Nicias.

Now Nicias being thus timorous of nature, and fearing to give any little occasion to the orators to accuse him: kept himself so warily, that he neither

Nicias' wariness to offend

durst eat nor drink with any man in the city, nor yet put forth himself in company to talk, or pass the time amongst them, but altogether avoided such sports and pleasures. For when he was in office, he would never out of the council house, but still busied himself in despatching causes, from morning till night, and was ever the first that came, and last that went away. And when he had no matter of state in hand, then was he very hardly to be spoken withal, and would suffer no access unto him, but kept close in his house: and some of his friends did ever answer them that came to his gate, and prayed them to pardon him, saying, that he was busy then about the affairs of the common wealth. One Hieron, whom Nicias had brought up in his house, and had himself taught him both learning and music, was his greatest procurer and instrument to keep him from speech with any man, and brought him to this reputation of greatness and gravity. This Hieron (as it is reported) was the son of Dionysius Chalcus, of whom they find certain poetical works at this day: who being captain of a certain number of men that were sent to dwell in Italy, did build there the city of Thurii. Hieron I say did serve his turn, and holp him secretly to inquire what he would understand of the soothsayers, and gave out these words among the people: that Nicias led too miserable and painful a life, for the over great care he took to serve the common wealth: insomuch, as though he were in his hot-house to wash him, or at his table at meat, his mind ran still of some matters about the common wealth, and to serve the state, did neglect his own private affairs: so that he scant began to sleep and take rest, when others

commonly had slept their first sleep, and that he looked like nobody. Furthermore, that he was grown crabbed and uncourteous, even to such as before had been his familiar friends. So that, said he, he loseth them together with his goods, and all for service of the common wealth: where others grow rich, and win friends, by the credit they have to be heard of the people, and can make merry among them, and sport with the matters of state which they have in their hands. Now in truth, such was Nicias' life, that he might truly say that which Agamemnon spake of himself in the tragedy of Euripides, called Iphigenia in Aulis: Nicias' life

> In outward shew of stately pomp all others I exceed,
> And yet the people's underling I am in very deed.

And Nicias perceiving that the people in some things did serve their turns with the experience of them that were eloquent, and wiser than others, although they yet mistrusted their sufficiency, and had a special eye to them, plucking down their courage, by taking their authority from them: as for proof the condemnation of Pericles, the banishment of Damon, and the mistrust they had of Antiphon Rhamnusian, and moreover by that they did unto Paches (that took the Isle of Lesbos) who being brought before the judges in open council to give up an account of his charge, drew out his sword, and slew himself in presence of them all. Nicias I say, remembering these examples, sought ever to fly from these offices, which were either too great, or too small, and when he accepted any, had special regard to work surely, and to venture nothing. Whereby all his enterprises that he took

Nicias' good fortune

in hand, as we may easily conjecture, prospered marvellous well: but yet he imputed nothing to his own wisdom, nor yet to his vertue and sufficiency, but thanked fortune ever for all, and praying diligently to the gods, contented himself to lessen his glory, and that only to avoid envy: As the event of things falling out even in his time do sufficiently witness unto us. For the city of Athens having sustained many great losses and overthrows, he was never a party, nor had ought to do in any of them. As once for example: the Athenians was overcome in Thracia by the Chalcidonians, howbeit it was under the leading of Calliades and Xenophon, who were their captains. Another time, the loss they had in Ætolia under the charge of Demosthenes. Moreover at Delium, a city of Bœotia, where they lost a thousand men at one conflict, Hippocrates then being their general. And as touching the plague, the greatest number laid the fault thereof to Pericles, who by reason of wars kept the men that came out of the country, within the walls of the city of Athens: and so by changing of air, and their wonted manner of life, they fell into it. Now with none of all these great troubles and misfortunes, was Nicias ever burthened: but contrariwise he being captain took the Isle of Cythera, which the Lacedæmonians inhabited, being an excellent place for situation to molest and destroy the country of Laconia. He wan divers cities again that had rebelled in Thracia, and brought them once more under the obedience of Athens. At his first coming, having shut in the Megarians within their walls, he took the Isle of Minoa: and at his departure thence, shortly after wan the haven of Nisæa

also. Furthermore, landing in the country of the Corinthians, he overcame them that offered him battell, and slew a great number, and among others Lycophron the captain. At this battell he chanced to forget to bury two of his men that were slain, whose bodies could not be found in gathering up of the rest: howbeit, so soon as he heard of it, he caused all his fleet to stay, and sent an herald to the enemies, to pray leave to fetch away those two bodies. Now, though by law of arms they that sent to ask leave to take away their dead to bury them, did thereby lose the honour of their victory, and were barred to set up any mark or token of triumph, because it seemed by the suit, that they which had them in their power were conquerors, and not the petitioners that made request for them, which otherwise needed not to have made demand of them: Nicias notwithstanding was contented rather to forsake the honour of his victory, than to leave the bodies of two of his countrymen in the field without burial. So, after he had destroyed all the coast of Laconia and had overcome certain Lacedæmonians that came against him in battell: he took the city of Thyrea, which the Æginetes kept at that time, whom he brought prisoners unto Athens. And when the Peloponnesians had prepared great armies both by sea and by land to besiege the fort of Pyle, the which Demosthenes the captain had fortified: battell being given by sea, it chanced there remained four hundred natural citizens of Sparta, within the Isle of Sphacteria. Now the Athenians thought it a noble exploit of them, (as indeed it was) to take those four hundred alive: howbeit the siege was very sore, because

The law of arms

Cleon and Nicias

they lacked water even in the middest of sommer, and were forced to fetch a marvellous compass to bring victuals to their camp, which when winter should be once come, would be very dangerous, and almost an impossible thing to do. Whereupon, they then became sorry, and repented them much that they had sent away the ambassadors of the Lacedæmonians which came to them to treat of peace, and that they had (through Cleon's procurement) suffered them to depart in that sort without resolution taken: who was against them altogether, only to do Nicias a despite, being his enemy, and did earnestly solicit the matter the Lacedæmonians requested. This was the cause why Cleon persuaded the Athenians, to refuse their offer of peace. But when the people saw that this siege drew out in length, and that their camp suffered grievous wants and necessities: then fell they out with Cleon, and he again burthened Nicias, saying that through his fear he would let the besieged Spartans escape, and that if he had been captain, they should not have holden out so long. Thereupon the Athenians said aloud to Cleon: And why dost not thou go thither yet to take them? Moreover Nicias self also rising up, openly gave him his authority to take this Pyle, and bade him levy as many soldiers as he would to go thither, and not to brag with such impudent words where was no danger, but to do some notable service to the common wealth, Cleon at the first shrunk back, being amazed withal, little thinking they would have taken him so suddenly at his word. But in the end, perceiving the people urged him into it, and that Nicias also was importunate with him: ambition so enflamed him, that he not

only took the charge upon him, but in a bravery said, that within twenty days after his departure he would either put all the Spartans to the sword, or bring them prisoners unto Athens. The Athenians hearing Cleon say so, had more lust to laugh a good, than to believe that he spake: for it was their manner ever to laugh at his anger and folly. For it is reported of him, that the people on a time being solemnly assembled in council early in the morning, to hear what Cleon would say, and having tarried long for him: at the length he came with a garland on his head, and prayed the assembly to dismiss the court till the next morning: For, quoth he, I shall not be at leisure to-day, because I have sacrificed, and do feast also certain strangers my friends that are come to see me. So the people burst out in a laughing, and brake up the assembly. This notwithstanding, fortune favoured him at that time, and he handled himself so well in this charge with Demosthenes, that he took all the Spartans that they besieged, within the time he had appointed, saving such as were slain: and having made them yield, brought them prisoners to Athens. This fell out greatly to Nicias' shame and reproach. For it appeared not only a casting away of his shield, but worse than that, a voluntary forsaking of his province upon a base timorous mind, giving his enemy occasion thereby to do some noble exploit, depriving himself of his honourable charge. Wherefore Aristophanes mocketh him again, in his comedy of Birds, saying:

Cleon's victory of the Lacedemonians

It is no time to sleep and linger still,
As Nicias doth: without good cause or skill.

Cleon's lewd and light gestures in his orations

Also in another place of his comedy of Plowmen he saith:

I fain would follow husbandry. Who lets thee? Marry you.
A thousand drachmas I will give to be discharged now
Of office in the common weal. Content, so shall we have
Two thousand drachmas just, with those that Nicias lately gave.

But herein Nicias did great hurt to the common wealth, suffering Cleon in that sort to grow to credit and estimation. For after that victory, Cleon grew to so haughty a mind and pride of himself, that he was not to be dealt withal: whereupon fell out the occasion of the great miseries that happened to the city of Athens, which most grieved Nicias of all other. For Cleon amongst other things took away the modesty and reverence used before in public orations to the people: he of all other was the first that cried out in his orations, that clapped his hand on his thigh, threw open his gown, and flung up and down the pulpit as he spake. Of which example afterwards followed all licentiousness, and contempt of honesty, the which all the orators and counsellors fell into, that dealt in matters of state and common wealth, and was in the end the overthrow of all together. In that very time began Alcibiades to grow to credit, by practice in the state, who was not altogether so corrupt, neither simply evil: but as they say of the land of Egypt, that for the fatness and lustiness of the soil,

It bringeth forth both wholesome herbs, and also noisome weeds.

Even so Alcibiades' wit excelling either in good or ill, was the cause and beginning of great change and alteration. For, it fell out, that after Nicias was rid of Cleon, he could not yet bring the city of Athens again to peace and quietness. For when the common wealth began to grow to some rest and reasonable good order, then was it again brought into wars, through Alcibiades' extreme fury of ambition. And thus it began. The only peace-breakers and disturbers of common quiet generally throughout Greece, were these two persons, Cleon and Brasidas: for war cloked the wickedness of the one, and advanced the valiantness of the other, giving to either occasion to do great mischief, and also opportunity to work many noble exploits. Now Cleon and Brasidas being both slain together at a battell fought by Amphipolis, Nicias straight perceiving the Spartans had long desired peace, and that the Athenians were no more so hotly given to the wars, but that both the one and the other had their hands full, and were willing to be quiet: devised what means he might use to bring Sparta and Athens to reconciliation again, and to rid all the cities of Greece also from broil and misery of war, that thenceforth they might all together enjoy a peaceable and happy life. The rich men, the old men, and the husbandmen, he found very willing to hearken to peace: and talking privately also with divers others, he had so persuaded them, that he cooled them for being desirous of wars. Whereupon, putting the Spartans in good hope that all were inclined to peace, if they sought it: the Spartans believed him, not only for that they

Cleon and Brasidas the two peace-breakers

Nicias with the Athenians

had found him at other times very soft and conversant, but also because he was careful to see that their prisoners of Sparta, (who had been taken at the fort at Pylo) were gently entreated, and had made their miserable captivity more tolerable. So peace was concluded between the Spartans and the Athenians for a year, during which abstinence, they frequenting one another again, and beginning to taste the sweetness and pleasures of peace, and the safety of free access one to an other's friends that were strangers: began then to wish that they might still continue in peace and unity together, without effusion of blood of either party, and took great delight in their dances, to hear them sing such songs:

And let my spear lie overgrown with ivory spiders' webs.

They did also with great joy and gladness remember him which said, that in peace no sound of trumpet, but the crowing of the cock doth wake them that be asleep: and on the other side they cursed and took on with them that said, it was predestined, the war should continue thrice nine years. And so, upon a meeting together to talk of many matters, they made a universal peace throughout all Greece. Now most men thought that surely all their sorrows and miseries were come to an end, and there was no talk of any man but of Nicias, saying: that he was a man beloved of the gods, who for his devotion towards them, had this special gift given him, that the greatest blessing that could come unto the world, was called after his name. For to confess a truth, every man

was certainly persuaded that this peace was Nicias' work, as the war was Pericles' procurement, who upon light causes persuaded the Grecians to run headlong into most grievous calamities: and Nicias on the other side had brought them to become friends, and to forget the great hurts the one had received of the other in former wars. And even to this present day, that peace is called Nicium, as who would say, Nicias' peace. The capitulations of the peace were thus agreed upon: that of either side they should alike deliver up the cities, and lands, which each had taken from other in time of wars, together with the prisoners also: and that they should first make restitution, whose lot it was to begin. Nicias (according to Theophrastus' report) for ready money secretly bought the lot, that the Lacedæmonians might be the first that should make restitution. And when the Corinthians and Bœotians that disliked of this peace, sought by the complaints they made, to renew the war again: Nicias then persuaded both the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, that they should add for strength unto their country, the alliance and peace offensive and defensive made between them, for a more sure knot of friendship, whereby they might be the better assured the one of the other, and also the more dreadful to their enemies that should rebel against them. These things went clean against Alcibiades' mind: who besides that he was ill born for peace, was enemy also unto the Lacedæmonians, for that they sought to Nicias, and made none account of him, but despised him. Here was the occasion that caused Alcibiades to prove from the beginning what he could do to

Nicias' peace

Alcibiades' ft and deceit

hinder this peace, wherein he prevailed nothing. Yet shortly after, Alcibiades perceiving that the Athenians liked not so well of the Lacedæmonians, as they did before, and that they thought themselves injured by them, because they had lately made league with the Bœotians without their privity, and had not wholly rendered up the cities of Panactum and Amphipolis according to the conditions articled between them: began then to enlarge and aggravate the people's complaints, and to make them offended with every one of them. And furthermore he procured ambassadors from the city, of Argos to come to Athens, and so handled the matter, that the Athenians made league offensive and defensive with them. While these matters were thus in hand, there came to Athens also ambassadors from Lacedæmon, with full power and authority to set all things at stay, and to compound all controversies: who having first spoken with the Senate, propounded things unto them both very honest and reasonable. Whereupon, Alcibiades being affraid that they letting the people understand so much, should thereby bring them to yield to what they desired: he finely deceived the poor ambassadors by this device. He promised upon his oath to help them in that they went about, so far forth as they would not confess themselves to have absolute power from the Ephors: making them to believe it was the only way to bring their matters to pass. The ambassadors giving credit to his words, relied upon him, and so forsook Nicias. Whereupon Alcibiades brought them before the people being set in council, and there demanded openly of them,

whether they had full power and authority to accord all matters, yea or no. Whereunto they made him answer with a loud voice, that they had not. Thereupon Alcibiades, contrary both to their expectation, and his own oath and promise made unto them: began to call the council to witness, whether they did not in open Senate say the contrary, and so advised the people not to trust nor give credit unto such men, as were openly taken with so manifest a lie, and that in one self matter would one while say one thing, another while another. It boots not to ask whether the ambassadors were much amazed to hear Alcibiades' words: for Nicias himself wist not what to say to the matter, the suddenness of the cause did so confuse and grieve him, being a thing he least looked for. Now the people they were so moved besides, that they became indifferent whether to have sent for the ambassadors of Argos presently to have made league with them or not: but there fell out an earthquake upon this matter, that greatly served Nicias' turn, and brake up the assembly. The people meeting again in council the next morning, Nicias with all that he could do, or say, could scant withhold them from making league with the Argives: and to get leave in the meantime to go to the Lacedæmonians, promising he would make all well again. Thereupon, Nicias going to Sparta, was received and honoured there like a noble man, and as one whom they thought well affected towards them: but for the rest, he prevailed nothing, and being overcome by those that favoured the Bœotians, returned again to Athens as he departed thence. Where he was

Nicias sent ambassador unto Sparta

The use of ostracism.

not only ill welcomed home, and worse esteemed, but was also in danger of his person, through the fury of the people, that at his request and council had redelivered such men prisoners, and so great a number of them. For indeed, the prisoners which Cleon had brought to Athens from the fort of Pyle, were all of the chiefest houses of Sparta, and their kinsmen and friends were the noblest men of the city. Notwithstanding, the people in the end did none other violence to him, saving that they chose Alcibiades their captain, and made league with the Eleans, and Mantineans (which had revolted from the Lacedæmonians) and with the Argives also: and sent pirates to the fort of Pyle, to spoil the country of Laconia. Upon these occasions the Athenians fell again into wars. Now when the quarrel and controversy was greatest between Nicias and Alcibiades, the Ostracismos (to wit, the banishment for a time) came in, by the which the people banished for ten years any such of their citizens as they thought either of too great authority, or that was most envied for his wealth and substance. Alcibiades and Nicias were then not a little perplexed, considering their present danger, being sure that the one of them two should not fail but be banished by this next banishment. For the people hated Alcibiades' life, and were afraid of his valiantness: as we have more amply declared in the description of his life. And for Nicias, his wealth made him to be envied, besides they misliked his strange manner of dealing, being no more familiar nor conversant with the people than he was, and counted him too stately: moreover they hated him also, because in many matters

he had spoken directly against the thing the people desired, and had enforced them against their wills to agree to that which was profitable for themselves. In fine to speak more plainly, there fell out great strife between the young men that would have wars, and the old men that coveted peace, some desirous to banish Nicias, and some others Alcibiades: but the Ostracismos

> Where discord reigns in realm or town,
> The wicked win the chief renown.

And so fell it out then. For the Athenians being divided in two factions, gave authority to certain of the most impudent and insolent persons that were in all the city: and among them was one Hyperbolus of the town of Perithoidæ, a man of no havior nor value, why he should be bold: but yet one that grew to some credit and power, dishonouring his country, by the honour they gave him. Now Hyperbolus thinking himself free at that time from any danger of banishment, (having rather deserved the gallows) hoping that if one of them two were banished, he should match him well enough that remained behind: shewed openly that he was glad of their discord and variance, and busily stirred up the people against them both. Nicias and Alcibiades being acquainted with his wicked practises, having secretly talked together, joined both their factions in one: whereby they brought it so to pass, that neither of them were banished, but Hyperbolus' self for ten years. Which matter for the present time made the people very merry, though afterwards it grieved them much, seeing their ordinance of the Ostracismos blemished by the unwor-

Hyperbolus banished for ten years

thiness of the person: which punishment was an honour unto him. For this banishment was thought a meet punishment for Thucydides, Aristides, and such like men of accompt as they, or their like: but for Hyperbolus, it was thought too great an honour, and too manifest an occasion of glory to be given to him, that for his wickedness had the self same punishment, which was to be inflicted upon the chiefest estates for their greatness. And the comical poet Plato himself sayeth in a place:

Although his lewd behaviour did deserve as much or more,
Yet was not that the punishment he should have had therefore.
The Ostracy devisèd was for men of noble fame,
And not for varlets, whose lewd life deservèd open shame.

After this Hyperbolus, there was never man banished with the Ostracismos. For himself was the last, as Hipparchus Cholargian, and nearest kinsman to the tyrant was the first. Sure fortune is a very uncertain thing, and without conceit of reason. For had Nicias frankly put himself to the hazard of this banishment against Alcibiades, one of these two things must needs have happened him: either to have remained in the city with victory, his adversary being banished: or being convict by his banishment to have scaped those extreme miseries and calamities the which he afterwards fell into, besides the same he had won of a wise captain, though he had been overcome. I know notwithstanding that Theophrastus writeth, how Hyperbolus not Nicias, was banished through the

dissension that fell betwixt Phæax and Alcibiades: albeit most writers agree with that I have told you before. Now the ambassadors of the Segestans and Leontines being come to Athens, to persuade the Athenians to attempt the conquest of Sicily: Nicias being against it, was overcome by Alcibiades' craft and ambition. For he, before they were called to council, had already through false surmises filled the people's heads with a vain hope and persuasion of conquest. Insomuch as the young men meeting in places of exercise, and the old men also in artificers' shops, and in their compassed chairs, or half circles where they sat talking together, were every one occupied about drawing the platform of Sicily, telling the nature of the Sicilian sea, and reckoning up the havens and places looking towards Africk. For they made not their accompt that Sicily should be the end of their wars, but rather the storehouse and armoury for all their munition and martial provision to make war against the Carthaginians, and to conquer all Africk, and consequently all the Africk seas, even to Hercules' pillars. Now all their minds being bent to wars, when Nicias spake against it, he found very few men of quality to stand by him. For the rich, fearing lest the people would think they did it to avoid charge, and the cost they should be at about these wars, they held their peace, though indeed not contented withal: yet would not Nicias leave still to counsel them to the contrary. But when they had passed the decree in council for the enterprise of Sicily, and that the people had chosen him chief captain, with Alcibiades and Lamachus, to follow the same: at the next session of the

The Sicilian expedition

Nicias chosen captain for the wars of Sicily

council holden in the city, Nicias rose up again, to see if he could turn the people from this journey with all the protestations he could possibly make, burdening Alcibiades, that for his own ambition and private commodity, he brought the common wealth into so far and dangerous a war. But all his words prevailed not. Himself before all others was thought the meetest man for this charge, partly because of his experience, but chiefly for that they knew he would handle their matters with greater safety, when his timorous foresight should be joined with Alcibiades' valiantness, and with Lamachus' softness, which indeed most confirmed the election. Now after the matter thus debated, Demostratus one of the orators that most procured the Athenians to undertake this enterprise stepped forth, and said: It were good that Nicias left off, and set aside all these excuses and devices, and preferred a decree, that the people should throughly authorise the captains that were chosen, to set forward and execute what they thought good, as well here as there, and so persuaded the people to pass and authorize it. Yet it is said that the priests objected many things to hinder the journey. But Alcibiades also having suborned certain soothsayers, alleged in like case some ancient oracles that said, the Athenians should have great honour from Sicily: and further had enticed certain pilgrims, who said they were but newly come from the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, and had brought this oracle thence, That the Athenians should take all the Syracusans. But worst of all, if any knew of contrary signs or tokens to come, they held their peace, lest it should seem they intermeddled to prognosti-

cate evil for affection's sake, seeing that the signs themselves, which were most plain and notorious, could not remove them from the enterprise of this journey. As for example, the hacking and cutting of the Hermes, and images of Mercury, which in one night were all to be mangled, saving one image only called the Hermes of Andocides, which was given and consecrated in old time by the tribe of the Ægeidæ, and was set up directly over against a citizen's house called Andocides. Furthermore, the chance that happened by the altar of the twelve gods: where a man leaping suddenly upon it, after he had gone round about it, cut off his genitories with a stone. And in a temple also in the city of Delphes, where was a little image of Minerva of gold, set upon a palm tree of copper, which the city of Athens had given of the spoils won of the Medes. Upon that palm tree sat certain crows many days together, and never left pecking and jobbing at the fruit of it which was all of gold, until they made the same to fall from the tree. But the Athenians said, that the Delphians (whom the Syracusans had subdued) had finely feigned this device. There was a prophecy also that commanded them to bring one of Minerva's nuns to Athens, that was in the city of Clazomenæ. So they sent for this nun called Hesychia, which is, Rest: and it seemeth it was that which the gods by this prophecy did counsel them unto, that for that time they should be quiet. Meton the astronomer having charge in the army levied for the war of Sicily, being afraid of this prophecy, or otherwise misliking the celestial signs, and success of the journey: feigned himself mad, and set his house

Signs to fear the Athenians

The madness of Meton the astronomer

afire. Others say he counterfeited not madness, but did one night indeed set his house afire, and that the next morning looking ruefully on it, he went into the market-place as a man brought to pitiful state, to sue to the people, that in consideration of his great misfortune happened him, they would discharge his son of the voyage, who was to take charge of a galley at his own cost, and ready to make sail. Moreover, the familiar spirit of wise Socrates that did use to tell him before what should happen: told him then that this journey would fall out to the destruction of Athens. Socrates told it to certain of his very familiar friends: and from them the rumour became common. And this also troubled a number of them, for the unlucky days on the which they did embark. For they were the very days on the which the women celebrated the feast and yearday of Adonis' death: and there were also in diverse parts of the city, images of dead men carried to burial, and women following them, mourning and lamenting. So that such as did put any confidence in those signs, said they misliked it much, and that they were afraid lest the same signified, that all the goodly preparation of this army, (the which was set out with such pomp and bravery) would come to nothing. Now for Nicias, that he spake against this war in open council, whilst they were deliberating upon it, and that he was not carried away with any vain hope, nor puffed up with the glory of so honourable a charge to make him change his mind: therein surely he shewed himself an honest man, wise, and constant. But when he saw plainly that he could by no persuasions remove the people from the enterprise of this war, neither

yet by suit nor entreaty get himself discharged from being a captain thereof, but that they would in any case make him one of the heads of the army: then was it out of time to be fearful, and still giving back, turning his head so oft like a child to look upon his galley behind him, and ever to be telling that no reason could be heard in determining of his journey. For indeed this was enough to discourage his companions, and to mar all at their first setting out: where, to say truly, he should suddenly have set upon his enemies, and have gone to it with a lusty courage, to have assayed fortune. But he took a clean contrary course. For when Lamachus thought good at their first coming to go straight to Syracusa, and to give them battell as near the walls as might be, and that Alcibiades on the other side was of opinion first of all to go about to win the cities that were in league with the Syracusans, and after that they had made them rebel, then to go against the Syracusans themselves. Nicias to the contrary spake in council, and thought it better to go on fair and softly, descrying the coast of Sicily round about, to view their galleys and preparation, and so to return straight to Athens again, leaving only a few of their men with the Segestans, to help to defend them. But this from the beginning marvellously cooled the courage of the soldiers, and quite discouraged them. Shortly after also, the Athenians having sent for Alcibiades to answer to certain accusations, Nicias remaining captain with Lamachus (the other captain in sight, but Nicias' self in power and authority the lieutenant-general of all the army) still used delays, running up and down, and spending time so long in consultation, till

Nicias' foolish fearfulness

A prophecy fulfilled

the soldiers were left without both hope and courage: and the fear the enemy had of them at their first coming to see so great an army, was now in manner clean gone. Yet Alcibiades being in the army, before he was sent for from Athens, they went with three score galleys to Syracusa, of the which they placed fifty in battell ray out of the haven, and sent the other ten into the haven to discover: which approaching near the city, caused an herald to make open proclamation, that they were come thither to restore the Leontines to their lands and possessions, and took a ship of the enemies, in the which among other things they found tables, wherein were written the names of all the inhabitants of Syracusa, according to their tribes and houses. These tables were kept far from the city, in the temple of Jupiter Olympian, but at that time they had sent for them to know the number of men of service, and of age to bear weapon. The same tables being taken by the Athenians, and carried to the generals of the army, the soothsayers seeing this long roll of names, at the first misliked it, fearing lest the prophecy had been fulfilled, which promised them, that the Athenians one day should take all the Syracusans. Howbeit it is reported this prophecy came to pass in another exploit, when Calippus Athenian having slain Dion, wan also the city of Syracusa. Now when Alcibiades was gone from the camp, Nicias bare all the sway and commanded the whole army. For Lamachus, though otherwise he was a stout man, an honest man, and very valiant of his hands, and one that would not spare himself in time of need: nevertheless he was so poor and miserable, that even when

he was in state of a general, and gave up an accompt of his expenses, he would not stick to put into his books, so much for a gown, and so much for a pair of pantoffles. Where Nicias' authority and reputation contrariwise was of another manner of cut, as well for other respects, as for his riches, and for the honour of many noble things which he had done before. As one namely which they tell of him, that on a time being a captain with others, and sitting in council with his companions in the council house at Athens, about the despatch of certain causes, he spake unto Sophocles the poet, then present amongst them, and bade him speak first and say his opinion, being the oldest man of all the whole company. Sophocles answered him again: Indeed I confess I am the oldest man, but thou art the noblest man, and him whom every man regardeth best. So having at that time Lamachus under him, a better captain and man of war than himself was, yet by being so slow to employ the army under his charge by deferring off time still, and hovering about Sicily as far from his enemies as he could: he first gave the enemies time and leisure to be bold without fear of him. And then going to besiege Hybla, being but a pelting little town, and raising the siege without taking of it: he fell into so great a contempt with every man, that from thenceforth no man almost made any more reckoning of him. At last, he retired unto Catana with his army, without any other exploit done, saving that he took Hyccara, a baggage village of the barbarous people, and where it is said Lais the courtesan was born, and that being then a young girl, she was sold among other prisoners, and after-

Lamachus valiant, but simple

Nicias' notable stratagem

wards carried into Peloponnesus. And in fine, the summer being far spent, Nicias was informed that the Syracusans had taken such courage to them, that they would come and enterprise the charge upon them first: and that their horsemen were approached already before his camp, to skirmish with them, asking the Athenians in mockery, if they were come into Sicily to dwell with the Catanians, or to restore the Leontines to their lands again. Hereupon with much ado, Nicias determined to go to Syracusa, and because he would camp there in safety, and at ease without hazard: he sent one of Catana before to Syracusa, to tell them (as if he had been a spy) that if they would suddenly come and set upon the camp of the Athenians and take all their carriage, he wished them to come with all their power to Catana at a day certain which he would appoint them. For the Athenians (said he) for the most part are within the city, wherein there are certain citizens, which favouring the Syracusans, have determined so soon as they hear of their coming, to keep the gates of the city, and at the same time also to set the Athenians' ships on fire: and how there were also a great number in the city of this confederacy, that did but look every hour for their coming. And this was the noblest stratagem of war, that Nicias shewed all the time he was in Sicily. For by this device he made the Syracusans come into the field with all their power, so that they left their city without guard: and he himself departing in the meantime from Catana with all his fleet, wan the haven of Syracusa at his ease, and chose out a place to camp in, where his enemies could not hurt

him: in the which he was both the stronger, and might without let or difficulty set upon them with that, wherein he most trusted. The Syracusans returning straight from Catana and offering him battell hard by the walls of Syracusa, he came out into the field, and overthrew them. There were not many of the Syracusans slain at this battell, because their horsemen did hinder the chase: but Nicias breaking up the bridges upon the river, gave Hermocrates occasion to mock him. For, comforting and encouraging the Syracusans, he told them Nicias deserved to be laughed at, because he did what he could that he might not fight, as if he had not purposely come from Athens to Syracusa to fight. This notwithstanding, he made the Syracusans quake for fear: for where they had then fifteen captains, they chose out three only, to whom the people were sworn, that they would suffer them to have full power and authority to command and take order for all things. The temple of Jupiter Olympian was hard by the Athenians' camp, which they would gladly have taken, for that it was full of rich jewels and offerings of gold and silver, given unto the temple aforetime. But Nicias of purpose still drave off time, and delayed so long, till the Syracusans at last sent a good garrison thither to keep it safe: thinking with himself, that if his soldiers came to take and spoil the temple, his country should be nothing the richer by it, and himself besides should bear all the blame of sacrilege. So, having obtained victory without profit, (which ran straight through Sicily) within few days after he returned unto the city of Naxos, where he lay all the winter, consuming a wonderfu'

Nicias winneth the haven of Syracusa

Nicias besiegeth Syracusa

mass of victuals with so great an army, for the doing of things of small moment, upon certain Sicilians that yielded to him. The Syracusans in the meantime being in heart again, and courageous: returned to Catana, where they spoiled and overran all the country, and burnt the camp of the Athenians. Herefore every man blamed Nicias much, because through his long delay, and protracting of time to make all things sure, he let slip sundry occasions of notable exploits, wherein good service might have been done. Yet when he would do a thing indeed, he did it so thoroughly as no man could take exception to his doings, for that he brought it to so good a pass: and once taking it in hand, he did execute it with all speed, though he was both slow to determine and a coward to enterprise. Now when he removed his army to return to Syracusa, he brought it so orderly, and also with such speed and safety: that he was come by sea to Thapsus, had landed and taken the fort of Epipolæ, before the Syracusans had any intelligence of it, or could possibly help it. For the choice men of the Syracusans being set out against him, hoping to have stopped his passage: he overthrew them, took three hundred prisoners, and made their horsemen fly, which before were thought invincible. But that which made the Syracusans most afraid, and seemed most wonderful also to the other Grecians, was this: that in a very short space he had almost environed Syracusa with a wall, which was as much in compass about, as the walls of Athens, and worse to perform, by reason of the woody country, and for the sea also that beateth upon the walls, besides that there were

divers marishes hard by it: and yet (sick as he was of the stone) he had almost finished it. And sure good reason it is that we attribute the fault of the not finishing of it, unto his sickness. For mine own part I wonder marvellously both of the care and diligence of the captain, and of the valiantness and dexterity of the soldiers, which appeareth by the notable feats they did. For Euripides after their overthrow and utter ruin, made a funeral epitaph in verse, and saith thus: Nicias' wall

> Eight times our men did put the men of Syracuse to flight,
> So long as with indifferency the gods did use their might.

But we find it written, that the Syracusans were not only eight times, but many times more overthrown by them: a time at length there was indeed, that both the gods and fortune fought against them, even when the Athenians were of greatest power? Now Nicias in his own person was ever in the greatest and most weighty affairs, striving with his sickly body. Howbeit one day when his disease grow sore upon him, he was compelled to be lodged in his camp with a few of his men: and Lamachus in the meantime alone having charge of the whole army, fought with the Syracusans, who then had brought a wall from the city, unto the wall with the which the Athenians had purposed to have shut them in, to keep that they should not compass it round. And because the Athenians commonly were the stronger in these skirmishes, they many times over-rashly followed the chase of their enemies that fled. As it chanced one day that Lamachus

The death of Lamachus

went so far, that he was left alone to encounter a company of horsemen of the city, before whom Callicrates marched foremost, a valiant man of his hands, who challenged Lamachus hand to hand. Lamachus abode him, and in the conflict was first hurt: but he gave Callicrates also such a wound therewithal, that they both fell down dead presently in the place. At that time the Syracusans being the stronger side, took up his body, and carried it away with them: but they spurred cut for life to the Athenians' camp, where Nicias lay sick, without any guard or succour at all: nevertheless, Nicias rose with speed out of his bed, and perceiving the danger he was in, commanded certain of his friends to set the wood on fire which they had brought within the trenches of the camp, to make certain devices for battery, and the engines of timber also that were already made. That device only stayed the Syracusans, saved Nicias, and the strength of their camp, together with all the silver and carriage of the Athenians. For the Syracusans perceiving afar off, betwixt them and the strength of their camp, such a great flame as rose up in the air: upon sight of it turned tail straight, and made towards their city. Things falling out thus, Nicias being left sole captain of the army without any companion, in great hope notwithstanding to do some good: divers cities of Sicily yielded unto him, ships fraught with corn came out of every quarter to his camp, and many submitted themselves, for the good success he had in all his doings. Furthermore the Syracusans also sent to parle with him of peace, being out of hope that they were able to defend their city any longer against him. Gylippus

also a captain of the Lacedæmonians, coming to aid the Syracusans, understanding by the way how the city of Syracusa was shut in with a wall round about, and in great distress: held on his voyage notwithstanding, not with any hope to defend Sicily (supposing the Athenians had won the whole country) but with intent nevertheless to help the cities of Italy if he could possibly. For it was a common rumour abroad, that the Athenians had won all, and that their captain for his wisdom and good fortune was invincible. Nicias himself now contrary to his wonted wisdom and foresight, trusting altogether to the good success which he saw to follow him, but specially believing the reports that were told him of Syracusa, and the news that were brought him thence by some of themselves, which came secretly unto him, persuading himself that within few days he should have Syracusa by composition: took no care to withstand Gylippus coming hither, neither sent any men to keep him from landing in Sicily. By which negligence, Gylippus landed in a passenger, without Nicias' knowledge: so small reckoning they made of him, and so much did they fondly despise him. Gylippus being thus landed far from Syracusa, began to gather men of war together, before the Syracusans themselves knew of his landing, or looked for his coming: insomuch as they had already appointed the assembly of a council to determine the articles and capitulations of peace, which they should conclude upon with Nicias. Moreover, there were some that persuaded they should do well to make haste to conclude the peace, before the enclosure of Nicias' wall was altogether finished, which then lacked

Gylippus a Lacedemonian

Gylippus' arrival at Syracusa

not much to perform, having all the stuff for the purpose brought even ready to the place. But as these things were even thus a-doing, arrived one Gongylus at Syracusa, that came from Corinth with a galley. At whose landing, the people upon the pier flocking about him, to hear what news: he told them that Gylippus would be there before it were long, and that there came certain other galleys after to their aid. The Syracusans would hardly believe him, until there came another messenger also sent from Gylippus self of purpose, that willed them to arm, and come to him into the field. Thereupon the Syracusans being marvellously revived, went all straight and armed themselves. And Gylippus was no sooner come into Syracusa, but he presently put his men in battell ray, to set upon the Athenians. Nicias for his part had likewise also set the Athenians in order of battell, and ready to fight. When both the armies were now approached near each to other, Gylippus threw down his weapons, and sent a herald unto Nicias to promise them life and baggage to depart safely out of Sicily. But Nicias would make the herald none answer to that message. Howbeit there were certain of his soldiers that in mockery asked the herald, if for the coming of a poor cap and wand of Lacedæmon, the Syracusans thought themselves strengthened so much, that they should despise the Athenians, which not long before kept three hundred Lacedæmonians prisoners in irons, far stronger and more hair on their heads, than Gylippus had, and had also sent them home to their citizens at Lacedæmon. And Timæus writeth also, that the Sicilians themselves, made no reckoning of Gylippus,

neither then, nor at any time after. After, because they saw his extreme covetousness and misery: and then, for that he came so meanly apparelled, with a threadbare cap, and a long bush of hair, which made them scorn him. Yet in another place he saith, that so soon as Gylippus arrived in Sicily, many came to him out of every quarter with very good will, like birds wondering at an owl. This second report seemeth truer than the first: for they swarmed about him, because in this cap and wand they saw the tokens of the majesty of the city and seigniory of Sparta. Thucydides also saith, that it was Gylippus only that did all there. And much like doth Philistus self a Syracusan confess, who was present then in prison and saw all things that were done. Notwithstanding at the first battell the Athenians had the upper hand, and slew a number of the Syracusans, among the which Gongylus the Corinthian was one. But the next morning following, Gylippus made them know the skill and experience of a wise captain. For, with the self-same weapons, with the same men, with the same horses, and in the same places, changing only the order of his battell, he overthrew the Athenians: and (fighting with them still) having driven them even into their camp, he set the Syracusans a-work to build up a wall overthwart, (with the very self same stones and stuff which the Athenians had brought and laid there for the finishing of their enclosure) to cut off the other, and to keep it from going forward, that it joined not together. So, all that the Athenians had done before until that present, was utterly to no purpose. Things standing in these terms, the Syracusans being courageous

The skil of a wis captain

Nicias' good fortune changeth

again, began to arm galleys, and running up and down the fields with their horsemen and slaves, took many prisoners. Gylippus on the other side, went in person to and fro through the cities of Sicily, persuading and exhorting the inhabitants in such sort, that they all willingly obeyed him, and took arms by his procurement. Nicias seeing things thus fall out, fell to his old trade again, and considering the change of his state and former good luck, his heart beginning to faint: wrote straight to the Athenians to send another army into Sicily, or rather to call that home which he had there, but in any case to give him leave to return, and to discharge him of his office, for cause of his sickness. The Athenians were indifferent before he wrote, to send aid thither: howbeit the envy the nobility bare unto Nicias' good fortune, did ever cause some delay that they sent not until then, and then they determined to send with speed. So Demosthenes was named to be sent away immediately after winter, with a great navy. In the middest of winter Eurymedon went to Nicias, and carried him both money and news, that the people had chosen some of them for his companions in the charge, which were already in service with him, to wit, Euthydemus and Menander. Now Nicias in the meantime being suddenly assailed by his enemies both by sea and land: though at the first he had fewer galleys in number than they, yet he budged diverse of theirs and sunk them. But by land again, he could not aid his men in time, because Gylippus at the first onset had taken a fort of his called Plemmyrion, within the which lay the store and ckle for many galleys, and a great mass of ready

money which was wholly lost. Besides, in the same conflict also were many men slain, and many taken prisoners. Yet further, the greatest matter of weight was, that thereby he took from Nicias the great commodity he had to bring his victuals safely by sea to his camp. For while the Athenians kept this fort, they might at their pleasure bring victuals without danger to their camp, being covered with the same: but when they had lost it, then it was hard for them so to do, because they were ever driven to fight with the enemies that lay at anker before the fort. Furthermore the Syracusans did not think that their army by sea was overthrown, because their enemies were the stronger, but for that their men had followed the Athenians disorderly: and therefore were desirous once again to venture, in better sort and order than before. But Nicias by no means would be brought to fight again: saying, that it were a madness looking for such a great navy and a new supply as Demosthenes was coming withal, rashly to fight with a fewer number of ships than they, and but poorly furnished. But contrarily, Menander and Euthydemus newly promoted to the state of captains with Nicias, being pricked forwards with ambition against the two other captains (Nicias and Demosthenes that was then coming) desired to prevent Demosthenes, in performing some notable service before his arrival, and thereby also to excel Nicias' doings. Howbeit the cloke they had to cover their ambition withal was, the honour and reputation of the city of Athens, the which (said they) were shamed and dishonoured forever, if they now should shew themselves afraid of the Syracusans, who provoked

Euthydemus and Menander chosen captains with Nicias

Demosthenes' arrival at Syracuse

them to fight. Thus brought they Nicias against his will to battle, in the which the Athenians were slain and overcome, by the good counsel of a Corinthian pilot called Ariston. For the left wing of their battle (as Thucydides writeth) was clearly overthrown, and they lost a great number of their men. Whereupon Nicias was wonderfully perplexed, considering on the one side that he had taken marvellous pains, whilst he was sole captain of the whole army: and on the other side, for that he had committed a foul fault, when they had given him companions. But as Nicias was in this great despair, they descried Demosthenes upon a pier of the haven, with his fleet bravely set out and furnished, to terrify the enemies. For he had threescore and thirteen galleys, and in them he brought five thousand footmen well armed and appointed, and of darters, bowmen, and hurlers with slings about three thousand, and the galleys trimmed and set forth with goodly armours, numbers of ensigns, and with a world of trumpets, howboys, and such marine music, and all set out in this triumphant shew, to fear the enemies the more. Now thought the Syracusans themselves again in a peck of troubles, perceiving they strove against the stream, and consumed themselves to no purpose, when by that they saw there was no likelihood to be delivered from their troubles. And Nicias also rejoiced, that so great aid was come, but his joy held not long. For so soon as he began to talk with Demosthenes of the state of things, he found him bent forthwith to set upon the Syracusans, and to hazard all with speed, that they might quickly take Syracusa, and so despatch

away home again. Nicias thought this more haste than good speed, and feared much this foolhardiness. Whereupon he prayed him to attempt nothing rashly, nor desperately: and persuaded him that it was their best way to prolong the war against the enemies, who were without money, and therefore would soon be forsaken of their confederates. And besides, if they came once to be pinched for lack of victuals: that they would then quickly seek to him for peace, as they had done aforetime. For there were many within Syracusa that were Nicias' friends, who wished him to abide time: for they were weary of war, and waxed angry also with Gylippus. So that if they were but straited a little more with want of victuals, they would yield straight. Nicias delivering these persuasions somewhat darkly, and keeping somewhat also from utterance, because he would not speak them openly: made his colleagues think he spake it for cowardliness, and that he returned again to his former delays to keep all in security, by which manner of proceeding he had from the beginning killed the hearts of his army, for that he had not at his first coming set upon the enemies, but had protracted time so long, till the courage of his soldiers was cold and done, and himself also brought into contempt with his enemies. Whereupon the other captains (his colleagues and companions with him in the charge) Euthydemus and Menander, stuck to Demosthenes' opinion: whereunto Nicias was also forced against his will to yield. So Demosthenes the self same night taking the footmen, went to assault the fort of Epipolæ: where, before his enemies heard any-

Nicias' counsel unto Demosthenes

Demosthenes' rashness

thing of his coming, he slew many of them, and made the rest fly that offered resistance. But not content with this victory, he went farther, till he fell upon the Bœotians. They gathering themselves together were the first that resisted the Athenians, basing their pikes with such fury and loud cries, that they caused the former to retire, and made all the rest of the assailants afraid and amazed. For the foremost flying back, came full upon their companions: who taking them for their enemies, and their flight for a charge, resisted them with all their force, and so mistaking one another, both were wounded and slain, and the hurt they meant unto their enemies, did unfortunately light upon their own fellows. For this multitude meeting thus confusedly together, what through their great fear, and what for that they could not discern one another in the night, the which was neither so dark that they could not see at all, nor yet so clear, as they might certainly judge by sight what they were that met them: (for then the moon declined apace, and the small light it gave was diffused with the number of men that ran to and fro) the fear they had of the enemy, made them mistrust their friends. All these troubles and disadvantages had the Athenians, and beside, the moon on their backs, which causing the shadow to fall forward, did hide their number and glistering of armour: and contrarily, the enemies' targets glaring in their eyes by the reflection of the moon that shone upon them, increased their fear, and making them seem a greater number and better appointed than they were indeed. At last, the enemies giving a lusty charge upon them on every

side, after they once began to give back and turn tail: some were slain by their enemies, others by their own company, and others also brake their necks falling from the rocks. The rest that were dispersed abroad in the fields, were the next morning every man of them put to the sword by the horsemen. So the account made, two thousand Athenians were slain, and very few of them escaped by flight, that brought their armours back again. Wherefore Nicias that always mistrusted it would thus come to pass, was marvellously offended with Demosthenes, and condemned his rashness. But he excusing himself as well as he could, thought it best to embark in the morning betimes, and so to hoise sail homewards. For, said he, we must look for no new aid from Athens, neither are we strong enough with this army to overcome our enemies: and though we were, yet must we of necessity avoid the place we are in, because (as it is reported) it is always unwholesome for an army to camp in, and then specially most contagious, by reason of the autumn and season of the year, as they might plainly see by experience. For many of their people were already sick, and all of them in manner had no time to tarry. Nicias in no case liked the motion of departing thence, because he feared not the Syracusans, but rather the Athenians, for their accusations and condemnation. And therefore in open council he told them, that as yet he saw no such danger to remain: and though there were, yet that he had rather die of his enemies' hands, than to be put to death by his own countrymen. Being therein of a contrary mind to Leo Byzantine, who after that said to his citizens:

The slaughter of the Athenians at Syracusa

The eclipse of the moon

I had rather suffer death by you, than to be slain with you. And furthermore, as for removing their camp to some other place, they should have leisure enough to determine of that matter as they thought good. Now when Nicias had delivered this opinion in council, Demosthenes having had ill luck at his first coming, durst not contrary it. And the residue also supposing that Nicias stuck not so hard against their departure, but that he relied upon the trust and confidence he had of some within the city: they all agreed to Nicias. But when news came that there was a new supply come unto the Syracusans, and that they saw the plague increased more and more in their camp: then Nicias' self thought it best to depart thence, and gave notice to the soldiers to prepare themselves to ship away. Notwithstanding, when they had put all things in readiness for their departure, without any knowledge of the enemy, or suspicion thereof: the moon began to eclipse in the night, and suddenly to lose her light, to the great fear of Nicias and divers others, who through ignorance and superstition quaked at such sights. For, touching the eclipse and darkening of the sun, which is ever at any conjunction of the moon, every common person then knew the cause to be the darkness of the body of the moon betwixt the sun and our sight. But the eclipse of the moon itself, to know what doth darken it in that sort, and how being at the full it doth sodainly lose her light, and change into so many kinds of colours: that was above their knowledge, and therefore they thought it very strange, persuading themselves that it was a sign of some great mischiefs the gods did

threaten unto men. For Anaxagoras, the first that ever determined and delivered anything for certain and assured, concerning the light and darkness of the moon: his doctrine was not then of any long continuance, neither had it the credit of antiquity, nor was generally known but only to a few, who durst not talk of it but with fear even to them they trusted best. And the reason was, for that the people could not at that time abide them that professed the knowledge of natural philosophy, and inquired of the causes of things: for them they called then Μετεωρολέσχης, as much to say, as curious inquirers, and tatlers of things above the reach of reason, done in heaven and in the air. Because the people thought they ascribed that which was done by the gods only, unto certain natural and necessary causes, that worked their effects not by providence nor will, but by force, and necessary consequences. For these causes was Protagoras banished from Athens, and Anaxagoras put in prison: from whence Pericles had much ado to procure his delivery. And Socrates, also, though he did not meddle with that part of philosophy, was notwithstanding put to death for the suspicion thereof. In fine, the doctrine of Plato being received and liked, as well for his vertuous life, as also for that he submitted the necessity of natural causes unto the controlment and disposition of divine power, as unto a more excellent and supreme cause: took away all the ill opinion which the people had of such disputations, and gave open passage and free entry unto the mathematical sciences. And therefore Dion, one of Plato's scholars and friends, an eclipse of the moon chancing even at

The Athenians do persecute the philosophers

Nicias ignorant of natural causes

the very same time that he was weighing up his ankers to sail from Zacynth, to make war with the tyrant Dionysius: being nothing affraid nor troubled therewithal, made sail notwithstanding, and when he came to Syracusa, drave out the tyrant. But then it fell out unfortunately for Nicias, who had no expert nor skilful soothsayer: for the party which he was wont to use for that purpose, and which took away much of his superstition, called Stilbides, was dead not long before. For this sign of the eclipse of the moon (as Philochorus sayeth) was not hurtful for men that would fly, but contrarily very good: for said he, things that men do in fear, would be hidden, and therefore light is an enemy unto them. But this notwithstanding, their custom was not to keep themselves close above three days in such eclipses of the moon and sun, as Autoclides self prescribeth in a book he made of such matters: where Nicias bare them then in hand, that they should tarry the whole and full revolution of the course of the moon, as though he had not seen her straight clear again, after she had once passed the shadow and darkness of the earth. But all other things laid aside and forgotten, Nicias disposed himself to sacrifice unto the gods: until such time as the enemies came again as well to besiege their forts, and all their camp by land, as also to occupy the whole haven by sea. For they had not only put men aboard into their galleys able to wear armour, but moreover young boys into fisher boats and other light barks, with the which they came to the Athenians, and shamefully reviled them, to procure them to fight: among the which there was one of a noble house,

called Heraclides, whose boat being forwarder than his companions, was in danger of taking by a galley of the Athenians, that rowed against him. Pollichus his uncle being afraid of it, launched forward with ten galleys of Syracusa for his rescue, of the which himself was captain. The other galleys doubting also least Pollichus should take hurt, came on likewise amain: so that there fell out a great battell by sea, which the Syracusans wan, and slew Eurymedon the captain, and many other. This made the soldiers of the Athenians so affraid, that they began to cry out, it was no longer tarrying there, and that there was none other way but to depart thence by land. For after the Syracusans had won that battell, they had straight shut up the haven's mouth. Nicias could not consent to such a retire. For, said he, it would be too great a shame for them to leave their galleys and other ships to the enemy, considering the number not to be much less than two hundred: but he thought good rather to arm a hundred and ten galleys with the best and valiantest of their footmen, and darters, that were in the army, because the other galleys had spent their owers. And for the rest of the army, Nicias forsaking their great camp and walls (which reached as far as the temple of Hercules) did set them in battell ray upon the pier of the haven. Insomuch, that the Syracusans which until that day could not perform their wonted sacrifices unto Hercules: did then send their priests and captains thither to do them. The soldiers being embarked into the galleys, the priests and soothsayers came and told the Syracusans, that undoubtedly the signs of the sacrifices did promise them a noble victory,

The Syracusans overcom the Athenians by sea

The Athenians again overcome on the sea

so that they gave no charge, but only stood upon their defence: for so did Hercules ever overcome, defending when he was assailed. With this good hope the Syracusans rowed forward, and there was such a hot and cruel battell by sea, as had not been in all this war before: the which was as dreadful to them that stood on the shore to behold it, as it was mortal unto them that fought it, seeing the whole conflict, and what alteration fell out beyond all expectation. For the Athenians did as much hurt themselves by the order they kept in their fight, and by the ranks of their ships, as they were hurt by their enemies. For they had placed all their great ships together, fighting with the heavy, against the enemies that were light and swift, which came on on every side of them, hurling stones at them which were made sharp to wound however they lighted: whereas the Athenians only casting their darts, and using their bows and slings, by means of their rowing up and down, could not lightly aim to hit with the head. That manner of fight, Aristo a Corinthian (an excellent shipmaister) had taught the Syracusans, who was himself slain valiantly fighting, when they were conquerors. The Athenians thereupon being driven to fight, having sustained a marvellous slaughter and overthrow, (their way to fly by sea being also clearly taken from them) and perceiving moreover that they could hardly save themselves by land: were then so discouraged, as they made no longer resistance, when their enemies came hard by them and carried away their ships, before their faces. Neither did they ask leave to take up their dead men's bodies to bury them, taking more pity to forsake

their diseased and sore wounded companions, than to bury them that were already slain. When they considered all these things, they thought their own state more miserable than theirs, which were to end their lives with much more cruelty, than was their misery present. So they being determined to depart thence in the night, Gylippus perceiving the Syracusans through all the city disposed themselves to sacrifice to the gods, and to be merry, as well for the joy of their victory, as also for Hercules' feast: thought it bootless to persuade them, and much less to compel them to take arms upon a sudden, to set upon their enemies that were departing. Howbeit Hermocrates devising with himself how to deceive Nicias, sent some of his friends unto him with instructions, to tell him that they came from such as were wont to send him secret intelligence of all things during this war: and willed him to take heed not to depart that night, lest he fell into the ambushes which the Syracusans had laid for him, having sent before to take all the straits and passages, by the which he should pass. Nicias being overreached by Hermocrates' craft and subtility, stayed there that night, as though he had been afraid to fall within the danger of his enemies' ambush. Thereupon the Syracusans the next morning by peep of day, hoised sail, got the straits of Nicias' passage, stopped the river's mouths, and brake up the bridges: and then cast their horsemen in a squadron in the next plain fields adjoining, so that the Athenians had no way left to escape and pass by them without fighting. At last notwithstanding, having stayed all that day and the next night following, they put themselve-

Nicias deceived by Hermocrate

The miserable state of the Athenians

in journey, and departed with great cries and lamentations, as if they had gone from their natural country, and not out of their enemies' land: as well for the great distress and necessity wherein they were, (lacking all things needful to sustain life) as also for the extreme sorrow they felt to leave their sore wounded companions and diseased kinsmen and friends behind them, that could not for their weakness follow the camp, but specially for that they looked for some worse matter to fall to themselves, than that which they saw present before their eyes to be happened to their fellows. But of all the most pitiful sights to behold in that camp, there was none more lamentable nor miserable, than the person of Nicias self: who being tormented with his disease, and waxen very lean and pale, was also unworthily brought to extreme want of natural sustenance, even when he had most need of comfort, being very sickly. Yet notwithstanding his weakness and infirmity, he took great pains, and suffered many things which the soundest bodies do labour much to overcome and suffer: making it appear evidently to every man, that he did not abide all that pains for any respect of himself, or desire that he had to save his own life, so much as for their sakes in that he yielded not unto present despair. For where the soldiers for very fear and sorrow burst out into tears and bitter wailing: Nicias self shewed, that if by chance he were forced at any time to do the like, it was rather upon remembrance of the shame and dishonour that came into his mind, to see the unfortunate success of this voyage, instead of the honour and victory they hoped to have brought home, than for

any other respect. But if to see Nicias in this misery, did move the lookers-on to pity: yet did this much more increase their compassion, when they remembered Nicias' words in his orations continually to the people, to break this journey, and to dissuade them from the enterprise of this war. For then they plainly judged him not to have deserved these troubles. Yet furthermore, this caused the soldiers utterly to despair of help from the gods, when they considered with themselves, that so devout and godly a man as Nicias (who left nothing undone that might tend to the honour and service of the gods) had no better success, than the most vile and wicked persons in all the whole army. All this notwithstanding, Nicias strained himself in all that might be, both by his good countenance, his cheerful words, and his kind using of every man: to let them know that he fainted not under his burden, nor yet did yield to this his misfortune and extreme calamity. And thus travelling eight days' journey outright together, notwithstanding that he was by the way continually set upon, wearied and hurt: yet he ever maintained his bands, and led them whole in company until that Demosthenes with all his bands of soldiers was taken prisoner, in a certain village called Polyzeleon: where remaining behind, he was environed by his enemies in fight, and seeing himself so compassed in, drew out his sword, and with his own hands thrust himself through, but died not of it, because his enemies came straight about him, and took hold of him. The Syracusans thereupon went with speed to Nicias, and told him of Demosthenes' case. He giving no credit to them, sent presently certain of

departing from Syracusa

Nicias moveth treaty of peace

his horsemen thither to understand the truth: who brought him word that Demosthenes and all his men were taken prisoners. Then he besought Gylippus to treat of peace, to suffer the poor remain of the Athenians to depart out of Sicily with safety, and to take such hostages for the sure payment of all such sums of money the Syracusans had disbursed by means of this war, as should like himself: which he promised he would cause the Athenians to perform and satisfy unto them. Howbeit the Syracusans would in no wise hearken to peace, but cruelly threatening and reviling them that made motion hereof, in rage gave a new onset upon him, more fiercely than ever before they had done. Nicias being then utterly without any kind of victuals, did notwithstanding hold out that night, and marched all the next day following (though the enemies' darts still flew about their ears) until he came to the river of Asinarus, into the which the Syracusans did forcibly drive them. Some others of them also dying for thirst, entered the river of themselves, thinking to drink. But there of all others was the most cruel slaughter of the poor wretches, even as they were drinking: until such time as Nicias falling down flat at Gylippus' feet, said thus unto him: Since the gods have given thee (Gylippus) victory, shew mercy, not to me that by these miseries have won immortal honour and fame, but unto these poor vanquished Athenians: calling to thy remembrance, that the fortunes of war are common, and how that the Athenians have used you Lacedæmonians courteously as often as fortune favoured them against you. Gylippus beholding Nicias, and persuaded

by his words, took compassion of him (for he knew he was a friend unto the Lacedæmonians at the last peace concluded betwixt them, and furthermore thought it great honour to him, if he could carry away the two captains or generals of his enemies prisoners) shewed him mercy, gave him words of comfort, and moreover commanded besides that they should take all the residue prisoners. But his commandment was not known in time to all: insomuch as there were many more slain than taken, although some private soldiers saved divers notwithstanding by stealth. Now the Syracusans having brought all the prisoners that were openly taken into a troop together, first unarmed them, then taking their weapons from them hung them up upon the goodliest young trees that stood upon the river's side in token of triumph. And so putting on triumphing garlands upon their heads, and having trimmed their own horses in triumphant manner, and also shorn all the horses of their enemies: in this triumphing sort they made their entry into the city of Syracusa, having gloriously ended the most notable war that ever was amongst the Greeks one against another, and attained also the noblest victory that could be achieved, and that only by force of arms and valiancy. So at their return, a council and assembly was holden at Syracusa, by the citizens and their confederates: in the which, Eurycles one of the orators (a practiser in public causes) first made petition, that the day on which they had taken Nicias, might for ever thenceforth be kept holy day, without any manner of work, or labour, but only to do sacrifice to the gods: and that the feast should be called, Asinarus' feast, after the

Gylippus sheweth mercy to Nicias

The captains of the Athenians condemned to die

name of the river where the overthrow was given. This victory was had the six and twentieth day of the month of July. And as touching the prisoners that the confederates of the Athenians and their slaves should be openly sold by the drum: and that the natural Athenians which were free men, and their confederates of the country of Sicily, should be clapped in irons, and laid in prison, the captains only excepted, whom they should put to death. The Syracusans confirmed this decree. And when the captain Hermocrates went about to persuade them that to be merciful in victory, would be more honour unto them, than the victory itself: they thrust him back with great tumult. And furthermore, when Gylippus made suit that for the captains of the Athenians, he might carry them alive with him to Sparta: he was not only shamefully denied, but most vilely abused, so lusty were they grown upon this victory, beside also that in the time of the war they were offended with him, and could not endure his straight severe Laconian government. Timæus saith moreover, that they accused him of covetousness and theft, which vice he inherited from his father. For Cleandrides his father was convict for extortion, and banished Athens. And Gylippus self having stolen thirty talents out of a thousand which Lysander sent to Sparta by him, and having hid them under the eavings of his house, being bewrayed, was compelled with shame to fly his country, as we have more amply declared in the life of Lysander. So Timæus writeth, that Nicias and Demosthenes were stoned to death by the Syracusans, as Thucy-

dides and Philistus report, but that they killed themselves, upon word sent them by Hermocrates (before the assembly of the people was broken up) by one of his men whom the keepers of the prison let in unto them: howbeit their bodies were cast out at the jail door, for every man to behold. I have heard there is a target at this present to be seen in a temple at Syracusa, which is said to be Nicias' target, covered all over with gold and purple silk, passing finely wrought together. As for the other prisoners of the Athenians, the most of them died of sickness, and of ill handling in the prison: where they had no more allowed them to live withal but two dishfuls of barley for their bread, and one of water for each man a day. Indeed many of them were conveyed away, and sold for slaves: and many also that scaped unknown as slaves, were also sold for bondmen, whom they branded in the forehead with the print of a horse, who notwithstanding besides their bondage endured also this pain. But such, their humble patience and modesty did greatly profit them. For either shortly after they were made free men, or if they still continued in bondage, they were gently entreated, and beloved of their maisters. Some of them were saved also for Euripides' sake. For the Sicilians like the verses of this poet better, than they did any other Grecians' verses of the middest of Greece. For if they heard any rimes or songs like unto his, they would have them by heart, and one would present them to another with great joy. And therefore it is reported, that divers escaping this bondage, and returning again to

Nicias and Demosthenes slew themselves in prison

Euripides' verses saved many of the Athenians' lives

Athens, went very lovingly to salute Euripides, and to thank him for their lives: and told him how they were delivered from slavery, only by teaching them those verses which they remembered of his works. Others told him also, how that after the battell, they scaping by flight, and wandering up and down the fields, met with some that gave them meat and drink to sing his verses. And this is not to be marvelled at, weighing the report made of a ship of the city of Caunus, that on a time being chased in thither by pirates, thinking to save themselves within their ports, could not at the first be received, but had repulse: howbeit being demanded whether they could sing any of Euripides' songs, and answering that they could, were straight suffered to enter, and come in. The news of this lamentable overthrow, was not believed at the first, when they heard of it at Athens. For a stranger that landed in the haven of Piræus, went and sat him down (as the manner is) in a barber's shop, and thinking it had been commonly known there, began to talk of it. The barber hearing the stranger tell of such matter: before any other had heard of it: ran into the city as fast as he could, and going to the governors told the news openly before them all. The magistrates thereupon did presently call an assembly, and brought the barber before them: who being demanded of whom he heard these news, could make no certain report. Whereupon being taken for a forger of news, that without ground had put the city in fear and trouble: he was presently bound, and laid on a wheel, whereon they use to put offenders to death, and so was there tormented a

great time, until at last there arrived certain men in the city, who brought too certain news thereof, and told everything how the overthrow came. So as in fine they found Nicias' words true, which now they believed, when they saw all those miseries light fully upon them, which he long before had prognosticated unto them.

Nicias foreshewed these miseries

THE END OF NICIAS' LIFE.

EPILOGUE

As in a previous volume we saw together presented the beginnings of Athens and Rome, and again their first triumphs and the fruits of the same; so here we are shown the working of those disorders which brought either of them to a fall. In Greece the spirit of disunion was always present. That passion for independence which possest each Grecian city and every Grecian soul, brought forth, it is true, many good things for the aftertime which has inherited the experience of Greece; but it brought forth destruction for Greece itself. The foresight and strength which might have used it were lacking; the best of servants, it proved worst of masters. One generation blotted out the memory of the Persian wars, and therewith did away the only bond which could unite Greece. The one experiment in union failed because the Greeks forgot, and because the statesmen of Athens were not wise in using their powers. Instead of leading, they followed; instead of instructing, they obeyed: and the mob, as mobs always will do, grasping at each momentary and local advantage, blinded by the tinsel of success, ready to treat their brethren as enemies for the sake of each petty rivalry, drove the ship on the rocks. Nicias, like another Cassandra, was doomed to prophesy disaster, and, [illegible]ver believed, to see his words come true.

Lysander, intoxicate with victory, rased the walls of Athens to the sound of fluting and dances; and never saw that the triumph of his native city gave the death-blow to an inimitable literature and art, and made the subjugation of Greece at some later day inevitable.

Rome, on the other hand, by her iron discipline, put an invincible weapon into the hand of the first unscrupulous commander. When Sulla had won the hearts of his legions by leading them to victory, he was able to turn them against the constitution of his own city. But Rome was still strong. The disease of tyranny, with its outbreak of bloody murder and massacre, could not kill her yet; she was destined to survive another bout of it in the next generation, with others still later, to produce a long line of great men, and the wonderful organisation of the Empire, which lasted four hundred years before it fell. Even then Rome absorbed rather than yielded, and even then Rome stamped her mark on Europe for ever.

In these pages the evils of despotism are clearly shown forth. In Tigranes we see the Oriental form of it, always the same, always corrupt and loathsome. The tyrant would be as a god, would have the absolute disposal of his subjects, body and soul, and of all their goods. Flattery is his food; truth, his poison. Woe be to the man who brings him bad news, for death is his portion. Yet the whole thing is rotten: confront this barbaric sham with a small disciplined force, and down it goes. The pomp of Eastern magnificence has turned the head of many a man; and the mere tale of it made Lysander mad. Sulla shows us one form which despotism takes in the West. For pomps and shows little he cares, but he will have the reality of power. In revenge he is no

ruthful than the Oriental; but when his enemies are gone, he establishes wise and useful laws for the good of the State; then, having measured his adversaries, with a security that is somewhat contemptuous, he lays down his power and dies a private citizen in his bed.

Plutarch's estimation of men is peculiarly happy in this volume. In a sentence he sums up the difference between Sulla and Lysander: Sulla did the greater acts, and Lysander committed the fewer faults. So with Cimon and Lucullus: the gods did favour both the one and the other, telling the one what he should do, and the other what he should not do. With all his condemnation of Sulla's blood-thirstiness and cruelty, he is not blind to the man's genius and to his fiery courage, ready to risk all on a cast at the right moment. He does not fail to point out the one thing lacking in Lucullus, with which he too would have been great: the harshness, and the want of tact which prevented his seeing how he impressed others. Nicias again, as Plutarch draws him, is not less pathetic to contemplate than he is in Thucydides. Plutarch indeed does not try to rival the historian, for he has the fate of Timæus the historiographer before his eyes; and the narrative part is far inferior to that incomparable story of the Retreat from Syracuse, which no one who has once read it can ever forget. Thucydides, in the old grand manner, tells the man's deeds, and lets them show what he was; but we are none the less grateful to Plutarch for analysing the character. Nicias was slow to determine, and a coward to enterprise; but once resolved, quick and thorough in action. He was, in fact, an excellent subordinate, but a bad chief; and in modern times would have found his proper place as

chief of staff. His piety seemed real enough to his contemporaries, who never could understand why the gods forsook one who was so scrupulous in their service: to Plutarch it is somewhat ridiculous; he understood not natural causes, or he would never have been scared by an eclipse of the moon. In the retreat, when he was at length forced to move, and there was no longer need to weigh rival plans, Nicias rises to heroism. Thucydides tells the tale with more dignity and force; but though Plutarch is weaker from the literary side, he is no less alive to the fact. Not even the touch of self-consciousness which Plutarch puts into them can make Nicias' words to Gylippus anything but noble. Thucydides ends the tale in gloom; Plutarch is more in accord with Greek feeling, when he softens the impression by the pretty tale, how the captives saved their lives by reciting the verses of Euripides. Nicias was fortune's plaything. A man of the highest character, upright and brave, not without political insight, who feared God according to his light, after a career of unbroken success, by one failure, due to his own fault, went far to ruin his country, and perished, with the loss of everything save his own honour. Plutarch might have drawn the moral, that the best of men are often their country's worst enemies, while others may redeem an evil private life by great services to the commonweal.

The author's remarks and reflections by the way have their usual interest in this volume. He describes, for example, his own method. He first studies to write each man's virtues at large, and thereby seeks perfectly to represent the truth, even as life itself; when faults and errors are to be found, they are to be set down, yet not too curiously, and they are to be

assumed as a falling short of virtue rather than any purposed wickedness proceeding of vice. Just so when we will have a passing fair face drawn, and that hath an excellent good grace withal, yet some manner of blemish and imperfection in it: we will not allow the drawer to leave it out altogether, yet not too curiously to show it. If Plutarch had painted Cromwell, he would not have left out the wart. His reflections, again, on the influence of society and the individual each on the other, deserve pondering. Napoleon, as we know, studied the Lives, and perhaps Plutarch taught him the maxim that war should support war (243). We must not forget to add that English literature is indebted to Plutarch for the hint which brought forth *Balaustion's Adventure*.

EDITORIAL NOTE

NORTH's *Plutarch* was first published in 1579, and at once it became popular, as many as seven new editions appearing within the century following the first publication. Another translation bears the name of Dryden, who wrote the Introduction to it; and in latter days the translation of John and William Langhorne has been most widely read. Several of the Lives have also been translated by George Long. In point of accuracy, North's version (being made from the French, and not from the Greek direct) cannot compare with the Langhornes' or with Long's; but as a piece of English style it is far to be preferred before any other.

The present issue is based on the first edition of 1579, but in a few instances (which are pointed out in the Notes) an improvement has been adopted from one of the later editions. The spelling has been modernised, except in a few words where it testifies to the ancient pronunciation; but old grammatical forms have been kept unchanged. The proper names are spelt in an erratic manner by North, and are here corrected in accordance with common usage; except in a few words which all know, where North has englished the ending, as *Delphes*. Where, however, North is not always consistent (as in the endings *-ion* and *-ium*), the

Editor has not felt bound to be so, but has kept as close to the original as possible.

The Notes draw attention to the chief places where North has mistaken the meaning of Amyot, or Amyot has mistranslated the Greek; and to those places where the translators had a reading different from the received text, that of Sintenis being taken as the standard. The shoulder-notes have been taken as far as possible from North's marginalia.

NOTES

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30. Alexandrides: so both translators. The Greek has Anaxandrides.

57. 'nethermost rooms beneath': 'beneath' is not in the first edition.

63. 'not by the climate of the country': A. *non par aduis de pays*. The Greek has simply *οὐ παρέργως*, 'not off-hand,' but with all due care.

84. 'haven of Piræus—holy haven': in each case 'haven' should be 'gate'; the mistake is North's (A. has *la porte*). The Holy Gate was the Dipylon, through which the Holy Road led to Eleusis.

85. 'the greater number unto the smaller': so the vulgate text. Emended in Sintenis from a fragment of Dion, 'the smaller number unto the greater,' *i.e.* to spare the smaller number (the living) as a grace to the greater (the dead). Antithesis clearly requires this change.

85. 'Noah's flood': 'Noah' is inserted by North. The Greek hero of the flood was Deucalion.

100. 'wive's': the regular form of the possessive of *wife*. See note to iii. p. 76.

107. 'published': the edition of 1595 has 'put them in print'!

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299. 'Hyperbolus': for a different account of this intrigue, see note to iv. p. 15.

VOCABULARY

H, to set, to begin, 84.
deceive, 200; misuse, 262.
IIA, a grove near Athens, in Plato was wont to teach.
IICS, a school of philosophy ed by Plato, and modified l times after him.
IUS, a town on the peninsula idicé, N. of the Ægean, which treasure-house at Delphi for offerings.
T, account, 300.
VN, acquainted, 84.
L, flagship, 16.
S, a city in Eubœa.
an island in the Saronic Gulf, t Attica and the PeloponAUS, king of Sparta, 398–C., a distinguished soldier; in Asia Minor against the ns.
me of several kings of Sparta.
DES, about 450–404 B.C., an ian statesman and general, s for his beauty, power, and s.
OF SPARTA, a poet of the ntury B.C.
A, wife of Amphitryon, king bes, and mother of Hercules IS.
, mulct, fine, 48.
TVONS, name given to the dwelling around Delphi, who federal council.
OLIS, on the Strymon, in lonia, besieged by Cleon, both he and Brasidas fell,
ORAS, of Clazomene, an Greek philosopher, 500–428 He believed in some intelli- behind the works of nature. ived in Athens, but was ed and died at Lampsacus.
238: Fr. *anime*, "a fashion of easy (because large-plated and large-jointed) armour." *Cotgrave.*
ANTEMNÆ, a Sabine town at the junction of Anio and Tiber.
ANTIOCHUS OF ASCALON, founder of the fifth Academy, friend of Lucullus, and teacher of Cicero, 79 B.C.
APOLLO, god of wisdom and prophecy, later also of the Sun. Ismenius was his title in Thebes.
APPARENT, evident, 109.
ARAXES, a river of Armenia.
ARREOPAGUS, a most ancient and reverend Council of Athens, sitting on Mars' Hill (Areopagus).
ARGINUSES, ARGINUSÆ, a group of islands near Lesbos, where a battle took place 408 B.C., in which the Athenians defeated the Spartan fleet.
ARGOS, a district and city to the E. of the Peloponnese.
ARISTIDES, an Athenian statesman, called the Just, flourished about 500 B.C.
ARISTOTLE OF STAGIRA, 384–322 B.C., the great philosopher.
ASOPUS, a river name. There was one in Peloponnese, in Thessaly, in Bœotia, and in Phrygia.
ATHOS, a mountain promontory in the N. of the Ægean, cut through by Xerxes to avoid going round the head, where storms were dangerous.
AULIS, a city on the strait Euripus, which parts Eubœa from the mainland.
AWAY WITH, to endure, 148.

BACCHIADÆ, a powerful ruling family of Corinth.
BACCHUS, DIONYSUS, god of wine.
BAGGAGE, paltry, 307.
BAN, curse, 9.
BANDING, collecting into bands, rioting, 179.

EPILOGUE

As in a previous volume we saw together presented the beginnings of Athens and Rome, and again their first triumphs and the fruits of the same; so here we are shown the working of those disorders which brought either of them to a fall. In Greece the spirit of disunion was always present. That passion for independence which possest each Grecian city and every Grecian soul, brought forth, it is true, many good things for the aftertime which has inherited the experience of Greece; but it brought forth destruction for Greece itself. The foresight and strength which might have used it were lacking; the best of servants, it proved worst of masters. One generation blotted out the memory of the Persian wars, and therewith did away the only bond which could unite Greece. The one experiment in union failed because the Greeks forgot, and because the statesmen of Athens were not wise in using their powers. Instead of leading, they followed; instead of instructing, they obeyed: and the mob, as mobs always will do, grasping at each momentary and local advantage, blinded by the tinsel of success, ready to treat their brethren as enemies for the sake of each petty rivalry, drove the ship on the rocks. Nicias, like another Cassandra, was doomed to prophesy disaster, and, ıough never believed, to see his words come true.

COMMODITY, ease, 317.
COMPASSED, set in a circle, 301.
COMPOSITION, terms of agreement, 83.
CON, learn, 44.
CONVICT, convicted, 179.
COS, an island off the coast of Cania, S. of Samos.
COTTA, M. AURELIUS, Consul 74 B.C., defeated by Mithridates.
CRASSUS, M. LICINIUS, led an army into Parthia, which was annihilated at Carrhæ, 53 B.C.
CRATERUS, brother of Antigonus Gonatas, made a collection of Athenian historical documents.
CRATINUS, a poet of the Old Comedy, 519–422 B.C.
CURACES, cuirass, body armour, 88.
CURSY, to make; haggle, hesitate (A. *marchandoyent*), 37.
CUSTOMER, tax-gatherer, 219.
CYCLADES, a group of islands in the Ægean.
CYRENE, a Greek colony and port in N. Africa.
CYRUS, son of Darius, king of Persia, made war on his brother Artaxerxes, and led the Ten Thousand Greeks against him. At Cunaxa, 401 B.C., the army defeated Artaxerxes, but Cyrus was killed.
CYTHERA, an island off Cape Malea.
CYZICUS, a Greek city on an island in the Propontis.

DANGER, power, 185.
DARDAN, Troy.
DARICK, a Persian gold coin about the size of a napoleon.
DECELEA, a border fortress in the hills N. of Attica.
DELICACY, effeminacy, luxurious, 192.
DELIUM, a city of Bœotia, where the Bœotians defeated the Athenians, 424 B.C.
DELOS, an island in the centre of the Cyclades, seat of a temple of Apollo, treasury of the Confederacy of Delos.
DELPHES, DELPHI, in Phocis, seat of the oracle of Apollo Pythian.
DIANA, Greek ARTEMIS, virgin goddess of the wild woodland, also of the moon, sister to Apollo.
DIET, council, 25.
DIFFUSED, confused, 320.
DIGGING, thrusting, pushing forward, 239.
DIODORUS SICULUS, compiler of an universal history, 1st century B.C.
DION OF SYRACUSE, a relative of Dionysius, but expelled the tyrant 356 B.C., became a tyrant himself, and was murdered, 353.
DIONYSIUS, tyrant of Syracuse, 405 to 367 B.C.
DIPHILUS, a poet of the New Comedy at Athens, 4th century B.C.
DIPYLON, a gate of Athens, by which the Sacred Way led to Eleusis.
DISMES, tithes, 124.
DODONE, DODONA, seat of an ancient oracle of Zeus in Epirus.
DOLABELLA, GNÆUS CORNELIUS, Consul 81, a partizan of Sulla.
DROP, duck, dive, 180.
DOUBT, suspect, fear, 11.
DRACHMA, a silver coin about as large as a franc.
DRONK, drunken, 83.
DUMPS, low spirits, 101.
DURIS OF SAMOS, a historian, wrote a History of Greece. He lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus.
DYRRHACHIUM, the port of W. Greece nearest Italy.

EAGER, sharp, brittle, 28.
EAVINGS, caves, 27.
EDIFICE, style of building, 86.
EFFUSION, pouring, libation, 243.
EFTSOONS, soon, 4.
ELÆA, a city of Æolis, in Asia Minor.
ELATEA, a town in Phocis, in a pass between Thessaly and Bœotia.
ELEMENT, upper air, 66.
ENSIGN, division, 105.
ENTREAT, treat, 103.
ENYO, a Grecian goddess of battles.
EPHESUS, an Ionian city on the coast of Asia Minor.
EPHORUS OF CYMÆ, in Æolia, a Greek historian, fl. 340 B.C. He wrote a universal history.
EPICURUS OF SAMOS, 342–270 B.C., founder of a philosophy which cultivated "life according to nature."

ruthful than the Oriental; but when his enemies are gone, he establishes wise and useful laws for the good of the State; then, having measured his adversaries, with a security that is somewhat contemptuous, he lays down his power and dies a private citizen in his bed.

Plutarch's estimation of men is peculiarly happy in this volume. In a sentence he sums up the difference between Sulla and Lysander: Sulla did the greater acts, and Lysander committed the fewer faults. So with Cimon and Lucullus: the gods did favour both the one and the other, telling the one what he should do, and the other what he should not do. With all his condemnation of Sulla's blood-thirstiness and cruelty, he is not blind to the man's genius and to his fiery courage, ready to risk all on a cast at the right moment. He does not fail to point out the one thing lacking in Lucullus, with which he too would have been great: the harshness, and the want of tact which prevented his seeing how he impressed others. Nicias again, as Plutarch draws him, is not less pathetic to contemplate than he is in Thucydides. Plutarch indeed does not try to rival the historian, for he has the fate of Timæus the historiographer before his eyes; and the narrative part is far inferior to that incomparable story of the Retreat from Syracuse, which no one who has once read it can ever forget. Thucydides, in the old grand manner, tells the man's deeds, and lets them show what he was; but we are none the less grateful to Plutarch for analysing the character. Nicias was slow to determine, and a coward to enterprise; but once resolved, quick and thorough in action. He was, in fact, an excellent subordinate, but a bad chief; and in modern times would have found his proper place as

chief of staff. His piety seemed real enough to his contemporaries, who never could understand why the gods forsook one who was so scrupulous in their service: to Plutarch it is somewhat ridiculous; he understood not natural causes, or he would never have been scared by an eclipse of the moon. In the retreat, when he was at length forced to move, and there was no longer need to weigh rival plans, Nicias rises to heroism. Thucydides tells the tale with more dignity and force; but though Plutarch is weaker from the literary side, he is no less alive to the fact. Not even the touch of self-consciousness which Plutarch puts into them can make Nicias' words to Gylippus anything but noble. Thucydides ends the tale in gloom; Plutarch is more in accord with Greek feeling, when he softens the impression by the pretty tale, how the captives saved their lives by reciting the verses of Euripides. Nicias was fortune's plaything. A man of the highest character, upright and brave, not without political insight, who feared God according to his light, after a career of unbroken success, by one failure, due to his own fault, went far to ruin his country, and perished, with the loss of everything save his own honour. Plutarch might have drawn the moral, that the best of men are often their country's worst enemies, while others may redeem an evil private life by great services to the commonweal.

The author's remarks and reflections by the way have their usual interest in this volume. He describes, for example, his own method. He first studies to write each man's virtues at large, and thereby seeks perfectly to represent the truth, even as life itself; when faults and errors are to be found, they are to be set down, yet not too curiously, and they are to be

assumed as a falling short of virtue rather than any purposed wickedness proceeding of vice. Just so when we will have a passing fair face drawn, and that hath an excellent good grace withal, yet some manner of blemish and imperfection in it: we will not allow the drawer to leave it out altogether, yet not too curiously to show it. If Plutarch had painted Cromwell, he would not have left out the wart. His reflections, again, on the influence of society and the individual each on the other, deserve pondering. Napoleon, as we know, studied the Lives, and perhaps Plutarch taught him the maxim that war should support war (243). We must not forget to add that English literature is indebted to Plutarch for the hint which brought forth *Balaustion's Adventure*.

EDITORIAL NOTE

NORTH'S *Plutarch* was first published in 1579, and at once it became popular, as many as seven new editions appearing within the century following the first publication. Another translation bears the name of Dryden, who wrote the Introduction to it; and in latter days the translation of John and William Langhorne has been most widely read. Several of the Lives have also been translated by George Long. In point of accuracy, North's version (being made from the French, and not from the Greek direct) cannot compare with the Langhornes' or with Long's; but as a piece of English style it is far to be preferred before any other.

The present issue is based on the first edition of 1579, but in a few instances (which are pointed out in the Notes) an improvement has been adopted from one of the later editions. The spelling has been modernised, except in a few words where it testifies to the ancient pronunciation; but old grammatical forms have been kept unchanged. The proper names are spelt in an erratic manner by North, and are here corrected in accordance with common usage; except in a few words which all know, where North has englished the ending, as *Delphes*. Where, however, North is not always consistent (as in the endings *-ion* and *-ium*), the

Editor has not felt bound to be so, but has kept as close to the original as possible.

The Notes draw attention to the chief places where North has mistaken the meaning of Amyot, or Amyot has mistranslated the Greek; and to those places where the translators had a reading different from the received text, that of Sintenis being taken as the standard. The shoulder-notes have been taken as far as possible from North's marginalia.

NOTES

Page

30. Alexandrides: so both translators. The Greek has Anaxandrides.

57. 'nethermost rooms beneath': 'beneath' is not in the first edition.

63. 'not by the climate of the country': A. *non par aduis de pays*. The Greek has simply *οὐ παρέργως*, 'not off-hand,' but with all due care.

84. 'haven of Piræus—holy haven': in each case 'haven' should be 'gate'; the mistake is North's (A. has *la porte*). The Holy Gate was the Dipylon, through which the Holy Road led to Eleusis.

85. 'the greater number unto the smaller': so the vulgate text. Emended in Sintenis from a fragment of Dion, 'the smaller number unto the greater,' *i.e.* to spare the smaller number (the living) as a grace to the greater (the dead). Antithesis clearly requires this change.

85. 'Noah's flood': 'Noah' is inserted by North. The Greek hero of the flood was Deucalion.

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BASE, abase, let down to the charge (a pike), 94.
BATTELL, army, brigade, 234.
BEAR IN HAND, urge, 324.
BECAUSE, in order that, 13.
BELLONA, Roman goddess of war.
BICKER, skirmish, fight, 96.
BOOT, help, 297.
BRASIDAS, a Spartan commander, famous in the Peloponnesian War.
BRAVE, fine, gorgeous, 88.
BRAVELY, magnificently, 259.
BRAVERY, boastfulness, defiance, 234.
BRUNDUSIUM, Brindisi, in S. Italy.
BRUTTIUS SURA, legate of Sentius, prætor in Macedon 88 B.C., defeated an army of Mithridates.
BUDGE, break (A. *brisé*), 316.
BURDEN, BURTHEN, accuse, 302.
BURGANET, a kind of helmet, 237.
BYZANCE, BYZANTIUM, afterwards Constantinople.

CABBON, cabin, 103.
CABIRA, a city in Pontus, where Lucullus defeated Mithridates, 71 B.C.
CADMUS, a Phœnician, founder of Thebes, who was bidden by an oracle to follow a cow, and build a city where it lay down.
CÆPIO, Q. SERVILIUS, defeated by the Cimbri 105 B.C., when 80,000 fighting men are said to have fallen.
CALENDS, name of the first day of each Roman month, 85.
CALLISTHENES, a pupil of Aristotle, went with Alexander the Great to Asia. He wrote a History of Greece.
CAPUA, chief city of Campania.
CARBO, CN. PAPIRIUS, one of the Marian leaders, Consul 85, 84, and 82, driven to Sicily, and killed.
CARKANET, necklet, bracelet, 155.
CARNEADES, of Cyrene, founder of the New Academy 213 B.C., 129.
CARRIAGE, baggage, 233.
CASTOR AND POLLUX, twin sons of Leda, worshipped by the Romans. They had a temple in the Forum. Invoked by seamen.
CATANA, a town in Sicily.
CATES, viands, 14.
CATULUS, Q. LUTATIUS, Consul in 102 with Marius, and next year beat the Cimbri near Vercellæ.
CATULUS, Q. LUTATIUS, son of the last, Consul 78 B.C., defeated Lepidus at the Milvian Bridge, died 60.
CEPHISSUS, a river of Bœotia.
CERAMICUS, the Potters' Quarter, about the Dipylon Gate of Athens, where the cemetery was.
CETHEGUS, P. CORNELIUS, a friend of Marius, proscribed by Sulla, pardoned by Sulla 83 B.C.
CHÆRONEA, a city in Bœotia, where (1) Philip defeated the Bœotians 348 B.C., and (2) Sulla defeated the army of Mithridates 86 B.C. Plutarch was born here (compare page 90, 139).
CHALCEDON, a Greek city of Bithynia.
CHALCIS, a city in Eubœa.
CHAMPION, CHAMPAIGN, plain or meadow land, 87.
CHEAP, price, 276.
CHELIDONIÆ, a group of small islands off the S. coast of Lycia.
CHERRONESUS, CHERSONESUS, a promontory N. of the Dardanelles, opposite Troas.
CHIOS, an island off the bay of Smyrna.
CICERO, M. TULLIUS, the orator, 107–43 B.C. In 63, as Consul, he repressed the conspiracy of Catiline, but finally perished by orders of Antony.
CINNA, L. CORNELIUS, during Sulla's absence in the East, 87–84 B.C., leader of the popular party; took part in Marius's massacres; slain 84.
CITERN, CITHERN, harp, lyre, 31.
CITHÆRON, a mountain range between Attica and Bœotia.
CLAZOMENÆ, a great city in Asia Minor, on the Gulf of Smyrna. It had a famous temple of Apollo, Artemis, and Cybele.
CLEON, a tanner and demagogue of Athens, leader of the mob against Pericles.
CLERKLY, with strict accuracy, 279.
CLISTHENES, an Athenian statesman, who reformed the constitution in 510 B.C.

The followers of this school soon degenerated into sensualists.

EPIDAURUS, in Argolis, seat of the chief worship of Æsculapius, who had a marvellous rich temple there.

EPIPOLÆ, a suburb of Syracuse, on the high ground.

ESQUILINE, one of the seven hills of Rome.

EUBŒA, Negropont, a large island off Bœotia.

EUMOLPUS, founder of the priestly clan of Eumolpidæ at Eleusis.

EUPOLIS, a poet of the Old Comedy at Athens, about 446–411 B.C.

EURIPIDES, 480–406 B.C., the third of the great Athenian tragic poets.

EURYMEDON, a river of Pamphylia, in Asia Minor, where Cimon defeated the Persians 469 B.C.

FEAR, frighten, 88.

FETCH, trick, 184.

FIDENTIA, near Parma, in Cisalpine Gaul, where Sulla's army defeated Carbo 86 B.C.

FIMBRIA, C. FLAVIUS, partizan of Marius and Cinna, fought against Mithridates.

FINENESS, finesse, 217; luxury, 245.

FLAMINIUS, T. QUINTIUS, consul 198 B.C.; conquered Philip of Macedon at Cynoscephalæ, 197.

FONDLY, foolishly, 313.

FORMER, front rank, 320.

FURNITURE, goods, trappings, dress, &c., 227.

GAIRE, gear, fuss, fury, 134.

GAUD, revel, 231.

GENITORIES, *pudenda*, 303.

GIRD, dash, push, strike, 115.

GLABRIO. *See* MANIUS.

GNIDOS, CNIDOS, a city on the promontory of Triopium, in Caria (not an island).

GORDYENE, a district in S. Armenia.

GORGIAS, a rhetorician of Leontini, in Sicily, about 480–375 B.C.

GRANICUS, a river of Mysia, in Asia Minor.

GROIN, groan, grumble, 248.

GROOM, man, attendant, 148.

GYLIPPUS, a Spartan general, who helped in the defence of Syracuse against the Athenians.

GYVES, handcuffs, 249.

HALÆ, in Bœotia.

HALIARTUS, a city on the border of Lake Copais, in Bœotia, where Lysander was killed 395 B.C.

HAPPILY, by chance, by good chance, 177.

HARPYÆ, personified spirits of the storm-wind, supposed to carry off any one who suddenly disappeared. They were sent to plague old blind Phineus, whose food they carried off.

HELICON, Mount of the Muses, in Bœotia.

HELLESPONT, the strait now called Dardanelles.

HERACLIDS, descendants of Hercules.

HERÆA, a town in Arcadia.

HERCULES, national hero of Greece. His labours were undertaken at the bidding of Eurystheus. They were: (1) Nemean lion; (2) Lernean hydra; (3) Arcadian stag; (4) Erymanthian boar; (5) Cleansing of the stables of Augeas; (6) Stymphalian birds; (7) Cretan bull; (8) Mares of Diomedes; (9) Queen of Amazon's girdle; (10) Oxen of Geryones; (11) Golden apples of the Hesperides; (12) Cerberus brought up from Hades. After death he was deified.

HERCULES' PILLARS, supposed to be set one on either side of the Strait of Gibraltar.

HOPLITE, heavy armed soldier.

HORACE, Q. HORATIUS FLACCUS, 65–8 B.C., lyric poet and writer of satires.

HORTENSIUS, Q., the orator, 114–50 B.C., long the great rival of Cicero.

HOSPITAL, house of open resort, 157.

HOT-HOUSE, part of the baths, sweating room, 140.

HOWBOY, HAUTBOY, a wind instrument.

HUMANITY, literature, 180.

HUSBAND, care for, 159.

HYBLA, a town in Sicily.

HYRCAN SEA, the Caspian.

oy.
ebase, 9.
ME, abscess, 126.
ENTLY, immediately, 256.
INCY, impartiality, 311.
ENT, hesitating, not dis- 316.
ungrateful, 76.
CHIOS, 5th century B.C., a oet, historian, and philo-

mountain in Messenia, on ood the capital city.

legendary hero, who sailed hip *Argo* to Colchis for the Fleece.
T, event, deed, 45.
of Juba, King of Mauri- rought up at Rome, and a learned historian. He Greek histories of Africa, Assyria, and Rome.
, bastard son of Mastana- g of Numidia; he seized the , and long successfully re- ie Romans until taken by 106 B.C.
eek HERA, wife of Jupiter queen of the gods. There great temple of Hera in

king of the gods. A title was Capitoline, from the Capitol, where he had a mple.
AMMON, a deity who had an Meroe, in Ethiopia.
OLYMPUS: there was a mple of this god at Olympia, wherein was a world-re- statue in gold and ivory by

AILES, ninepins, 12.
vent, hinder, 311.
kindle, bring forth, 70.
(of a hill), 90.

ON, the country about in S. Greece.
L, Spartan.
IS, a city of Mysia, on the the Hellespont.

LAOMEDON, King of Troy, broke a promise of reward to Hercules, who had built the city walls.
LARISSA, chief city of Thessaly.
LAUGH A GOOD, *i.e.* heartily, a good laugh (A. *à bon escient*), 291.
LAURION, near Surium, where silver mines were.
LAVERNA, a Roman goddess, patroness of thieves: there was a grove sacred to her on the Via Salaria.
LAVISH, extravagance, 81.
LEBADEA, a city on the border of Bœotia, near Lake Copais.
LEMNOS, an island in the N. of the Ægean Sea.
LEO THE BYZANTINE, a historian of the age of Alexander the Great.
LEPIDUS, M. ÆMILIUS, father of the triumvir, consul 78.
LET, hinder, 47.
LEUCTRA, in Bœotia, where Epaminondas defeated the Spartans 371 B.C.
LEWDLY, rudely, 15.
LICENTIOUSNESS, disorderliness, 292.
LIGHTLY, easily, 326.
LIVELY, life-like, 1.
LIVIUS, TITUS, the Roman historian, 59 B.C.–A.D. 17.
LUCULLUS, L. LICINIUS, conqueror of Mithridates, died about 57.
LUST, desire, 291.
LUST, liked, 189.
LYCURGUS, founder of the Spartan constitution (9th century B.C.).

MÆOTIS, Sea of Azov.
MAIOR SEA, the Black Sea. *See* note to p. 187.
MALEA, the Peloponnese, or the southern headland of it.
MALICE, dislike, 169.
MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO, consul, 191 B.C., defeated Antiochus.
MANURE, till, 159.
MARATHON, twenty miles N. of Athens, where Miltiades defeated the Persians 490 B.C.
MARISH, marsh, 99.
MAUGRE, in spite of, 92.
MEAN, moderate, 264.
MELANCHOLINESS, sourness, even madness of any sort, 48.

MELANTHIUS, a famous Greek painter of the 4th century B.C.
MELITEA, a town of Thessaly.
MERCURY, Greek HERMES, messenger of the gods.
MESSENIA, a fertile plain westward of Mount Taygetus, for centuries a rival to Sparta.
MILETUS, an Ionian city on the coast of Asia Minor.
MILTIADES, the victor of Marathon, 490 B.C., had been tyrant of the Chersonese when he married the daughter of a Thracian chief.
MINA, or weight, or a sum of money equal to 100 drachmæ.
MINGLED WITH, composed of a medley, 175.
MINERVA, Greek ATHENA, goddess of wisdom and handicrafts, patron deity of Athens.
MISTRUST, suspect, 17.
MITHRIDATES THE GREAT, King of Pontus 120–63 B.C.; long successfully resisted the Romans. The first war with Rome ended 84; Sulla and Pompey both fought against him.
MONETH, month, 220.
MORIAN, MORION, metal headpiece, 100.
MORIOS, p. 92, emended to Molos from chapter 19 (a river in Bœotia).
MORTIFY, kill, 180.
MOTHER-IN-LAW, stepmother, 59.
MOYLE, mule, 213.
MUCIUS SCÆVOLA, Q., the Augur, a famous lawyer, alive in 88 B.C.
MULET, small mule, 80.
MUNYCHIA, a harbour of Athens.
MUMMIUS, L., the conqueror of Corinth 146 B.C.
MURENA, L. LICINIUS: (1) a lieutenant of Sulla in the Mithridatic War, proprætor in Asia 84 B.C.; (2) son of preceding, served under his father and under Lucullus.
MUSES, divine patronesses of music, the arts, dancing, and literature.
MYSTERIES, religious rites celebrated at Eleusis.
MYTILENE, chief city of Lesbos.

NAKED, unarmed, light-armed, 232.
NAUGHTINESS, worthlessness, 68.
NAXOS, a city in Sicily.
NO FORCE, no matter, 9.
NOLA, a city in Campania.
NONCE, the occasion, 125.
NUMMO, NUMMUS; *i.e.* a silver sesterce.

OBELISCUS, a spit or bar, 28.
OBOLUS, a small silver coin of Athens, six to the drachma.
OFELLA, Q. LUCRETIUS, deserted from the Marian party to Sulla; put to death by Sulla in 81 for a breach of the law.
OLYMPIA, in Elis, seat of the great games, where were seen many noble temples, in chief that of Zeus.
OPTIMATIA, a word coined by North to translate the "rule of the best men," aristocracy properly so-called, 167.
ORCHOMEN, ORCHOMENOS, a fortified city on the W. of Lake Copais, in Bœotia.
ORDINARY, set meal, 156.
OWER, oar, 14.
OWL, a bird associated with Athena, and hence stamped on the Athenian coinage. These coins were called Owls, and passed current everywhere in Greece.

PAINFUL, painstaking, 58.
PANACTUM, on the frontier of Attica and Bœotia.
PANOPE, a city in Phocis, on the Cephissus.
PANTOFFLES, slippers, 307.
PARALOS, one of the two State galleys of Athens, the other being called Salaminia.
PARAPOTAMII, a city in Phocis, on the left bank of the Cephissus.
PARNASSUS, a great mountain over Delphi.
PARTISAN, short pike, 93.
PARTY, person, 324.
PASSINGLY, surpassingly (well), 247.
PAULUS, L. ÆMILIUS, defeated King Perseus at Pydna 168 B.C.
PAUSANIAS, King of Sparta, 408–394 B.C.
PEIRÆUS, harbour of Athens.

PERGAMUS, chief-city of a kingdom of that name in Mysia, Asia Minor.
PELTING, paltry, 307.
PERGAMUM, PERGAMUS, capital of the kingdom of Pontus.
PERICLES, an Athenian orator and democratic statesman, died 429 B.C.
PERIPATETIC PHILOSOPHERS, the Walkabouts, the school of Aristotle, who taught while "walking about."
PERITHOIDÆ, a township or deme of Athia.
PERSEUS, the legendary hero, son of Zeus and Danæ, slayer of the Gorgon Medusa.
PHARNABAZUS, a Persian satrap.
PHASELIS, a city and port of Lycia.
PHASIS, a river flowing into the E. of the Black Sea.
PHERECYDES OF SYROS, a Greek philosopher of the 6th century B.C.
PHILIPPI, a city in Macedonia, founded by Philip.
PHILISTUS OF SYRACUSE, born about 435 B.C., wrote a history of Sicily.
PHILO OF LARISSA, an Academic philosopher of the 1st century B.C.
PHILOCHORUS OF ATHENS, 4th century B.C., writer of a book on the legends and history of Attica.
PHOCÆA, a city on the coast of Asia Minor.
PHYLE, a hill fort on the frontier of Attica, still in existence.
PHRYNICHUS, one of the early tragic poets of Athens, flourished between 511 and 476 B.C.
PICINÆ, p. 74; here the text appears to be corrupt. Sintenis reads Πικτάς.
PICK-THANK, flatterer, tale-bearer, 158.
PINE-APPLE, pine-cone, 92.
PLAT, plan, 45.
PLATÆA, a small town on the hill-side on the outskirts of Bœotia, where Pausanias defeated the Persians B.C. 479.
PLATFORM, plan, map, 301.
PLATO, an Athenian comic poet, 5th century B.C.
PLATO, the Athenian philosopher and friend of Socrates, 429–347 B.C. He taught in the Academia, hence his followers were called Academics.
POLL, head, 260.
POLYCRATES, tyrant of Samos, famous for his riches, good luck, treachery, and tragic end (crucified 522 B.C.).
POLYGNOTUS OF THASOS, 5th century B.C., one of the most famous of the Greek painters.
POMPEY, Gr. POMPEIUS MAGNUS, 106–48 B.C., one of the triumvirate 59, one of the most successful of Sulla's generals, fought against Sertorius 76–71, consul 70, popular hero, cleared the sea of pirates 67, took Jerusalem 63, killed in Egypt 48.
PONT, PONTUS, a kingdom in Asia Minor, S. of the Black Sea.
POSIDONIA, or PÆSTUM, a Greek colony in S. Italy.
PRACTISE, intrigue, 148.
PRÆNESTE, now PALÆSTRINA, twenty miles S. of Rome.
PRESENTLY, at once, 225.
PREVENT, forestall, 317.
PRORE, prow, 14.
PROSERPINA, Greek PERSEPHONE, or KORÉ, daughter of Ceres (Greek Demeter), wife of Pluto.
PROTAGORAS OF ABDERA, 480–411 B.C., a celebrated sophist and rhetorician.
PROVE, try, experience, 192.
PUISSANT, powerful, 111.
PULPIT, platform, stage, 292.
PUTEOLI, a town near Naples, now Pozzuoli.
PUTRITURE, putrefaction, 126.
PYLE, Pylos, a town near the modern Navarino, where Demosthenes defeated the Spartans 425 B.C.
PYTHIAN GAMES, held every four years at Delphi in honour of Apollo Pythius. The contests were athletic, &c., and literary or musical.

QUICKEN, make alive, 4.

RECEITOR, receiver, 184.
RENT, income, 284.
REPROACHFUL, disgraceful, 273.
RHADAMANTHUS OF CRETE, a wise law-giver who, after death, was appointed with Minos judge of the dead.

SALAMIS, an island lying close off Attica, opposite to the harbour of Piræus.
SALLUST, C. SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS, a Roman historian, 86–34 B.C.
SAMOS, an island off Cape Mycale, in Asia Minor.
SARDIS, capital of Lydia.
SATRAP, Persian governor, used of other Easterns, 247.
SATURN, an ancient Roman deity, in whose day was the Golden Age, when all things were held in common.
SATURN'S FEAST, the Saturnalia at Rome, held in winter, when slaves were permitted license and liberty.
SATYR, half-goat half-man creature, attendant upon the god Pan.
SCANT, scarcely, 40.
SCIONE, in Macedon, on the peninsula of Pallene.
SCIPIO: P. Corn. Scipio Æmilianus Africanus Minor, born about 185 B.C., took Carthage 146, Numantia 133, died suddenly, probably by murder, 129.
SCYROS, an island in the Ægean Sea.
SEIGNIORY, lordship, 159.
SELEUCUS, name of several kings of Syria.
SENTIUS SATURNINUS, C., Prætor of Macedonia.
SERTORIUS, Q., a Sabine, fought in Spain, where he led a revolution against the Romans, successful for many years, till in 72 B.C. he was murdered.
SESS, assess, 159.
SESTERTIO, SESTERTIUS, a Roman coin worth 2½ asses or ¼ of denarius, *i.e.* about twopence English.
SESTOS, a city on the Thracian shore of the Hellespont.
SHALM, SHAWM, a musical pipe like a hautboy, 25.
SHARP, AT THE, with sharp weapons, 124
SIGNIA, a town in Latium.
SILLY, simple, 135.
SILVIUM, a town in Apulia.
SINOPE, a port on the Black Sea, in the N. of Asia Minor.
SITH, since, 8.
SITHENCE, since, 5.
SOCRATES, the celebrated dialec and philosopher, an Athenian 399 B.C. He asserted he wa tended by a familiar spirit u whose voice warned him wh should not do.
SOPHOCLES, second of the three Athenian tragic poets, 495–40
SORT, consort, ally, 261.
SORT, kind, 110.
SPARING, saving, hoarded, 155.
SPHACTERIA, an island blockin harbour of Pylos (or Navarin SW. Greece.
SOPHISTER, cunning rogue, 192.
STALE, decoy, 112.
STAND UPON, to be necessary, 1
STAPLE, mart or emporium, 4.
STATER, a gold coin.
STEAD, place, 85.
STESIMBROTUS OF THASOS, a torian of the fifth century B.C.
STHENIS, of Olynthus, a statua the fourth century B.C.
STOUTNESS, obstinacy, arrog 212.
STRABO, the geographer, ?54 ?24 A.D., wrote a history a geography.
STRAIT, pass, 87.
STRAIT, press hard, narrow in,
STYRAP, bush bearing the fra storax gum, 50.
SUPPLANT, dislodge, 98.
SUPPLY, reinforcement, 198.
SYRACUSA, chief city of Sicily.

TABLE, picture, 65.
TALAURA, a fortified town in Pc
TANAGRA, a city in Bœotia (n Phocis).
TARENTUM, TARANTO, in S. Ita
TARGET, shield, 16.
TARPEIAN ROCK, part of the hill toline, whence criminals were down headlong.
TASSES, leg-armour, 100.
TAYGETUS, a mountain range se ing the plain of Sparta Messenia.
TEGEA, a city in the Peloponnes
TELECLIDES, an Athenian poet c Old Comedy, 5th century B.C.

;, PONTIUS, a Samnite, by Sulla at the Collino B.C.
an island near Lesbos, he Troad.
CHM, a coin of four s.
ı island near Thrace, in the : Ægean Sea.
ʀA, a plain on the coast of

:LES, about 514–449 B.C., ian statesman and general. is due the credit of the at Salamis. He fortified ' and the harbour of

STUS OF LESBOS, a Greek ıer and naturalist, died at ge, 287 B.C.
national hero of Attica, f robbers and monsters, the Minotaur, legendary .thens.
ı city in Bœotia.
US, an Athenian comic .00 B.C.
JS OF CHIOS, a historian, ıut 378 B.C. He wrote a of Greece, a History of ıd Speeches.
N, a river in Pontus, in ı of Themiscyra.
.US, a popular leader who ɜ Thirty Tyrants out of 03 B.C.
:S: (1) son of Melesias, ian statesman of the fifth .C.; (2) son of Olorus, his- the Peloponnesian War. unded in 443 B.C. on the baris, in S. Italy.
a city in N. Lydia.
ı the border between Ar- Laconia.
stable, 172.
RTA, later capital of Ar-

TILPHOSSION, a town in Bœotia.
TIMÆUS OF SICILY, a historian about 352–256 B.C.
TISAPHERNES, a satrap of the king of Persia.
TOY, trifle, 279.
TRACT, protract, 84.
TRACT, protracting, delay, 240.
TRAGICAL, awe-inspiring, 223.
TRIOPIUM, a promontory of Caria on which stood the city of Cnidos.
TROPHONIUS, worshipped at Lebadea where he had a cave and an oracle.
TROTH, truth, 141.
TRUSS, tie in a bundle, 133.
TUBERO, L., a friend of Cicero, a philosopher and writer.
TUSCULUM, a town near Rome.
TUTOR, guardian, 188.

UNHANDSOME, awkward, 28.
UNTRUSSED, unfastened, undressed, 210.
USURP, use, 130.

VALURE, worth, value, 186.
VERY, true, 80.
VICO, *i.e. vicus*, a ward or village, 260.
VOWARD, vanguard, 50.

WAFT, transport, 187.
WIST, knew, 207.
WONTED, used, 252.
WORLD, great number, 262.

XENOCRATES, 396–314 B.C., president of the Academic School after Spensippus.
XENOPHON, an Athenian traveller, soldier, and writer, a friend of Socrates. He led the Ten Thousand back to Greece after the battle of Cunaxa. One of his books is the Symposium, or Banquet, in which Autolycus is a character (p. 26).

ZACYNTHUS, an island W. of continental Greece.

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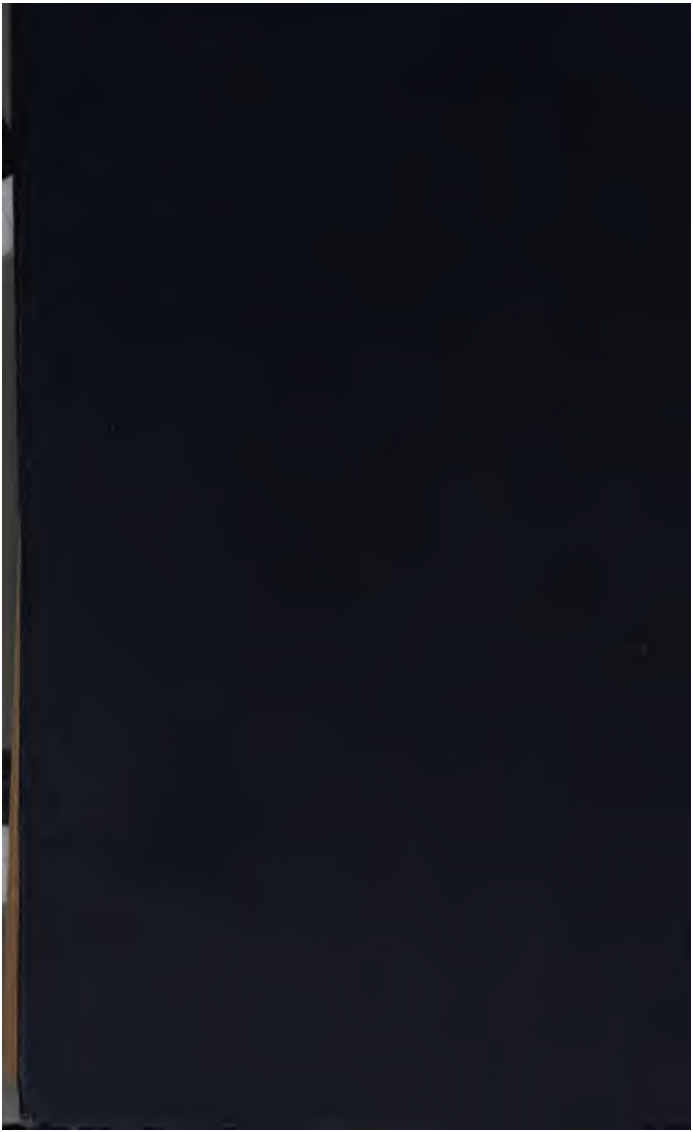
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